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The bloody tenent of
persecution

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Roger Williams

THE
BLOODY TENENT OF PERSECUTION.

EDITED BY

SAMUEL L. CALDWELL.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.



THE work reprinted in the present volume was produced during the author's visit to England in 1643-1644, and while he was engaged in obtaining the Charter. The fruit of previous studies and experiences, it was written at some time during the year in which he published *A Key into the Language of America*, *Mr. Cotton's Letter Examined and Answered*, and *Queries of Highest Consideration*. Besides these labors, it is to be added, by his own testimony, "that when these discussions were prepared for publike in London, his time was eaten up in attendance upon the service of the Parliament or City, for the supply of the poor of the City with wood (during the stop of coale from Newcastle, and the mutinie of the poor for firing.) God is a most holy witness, that these meditations were fitted for publike view in change of roomes and corners, yea sometimes (upon occasion of travel in the country concerning that business of fuell) in variety of strange houses, sometimes in the fields, in the midst of travel; where he hath been forced to gather and scatter his loose thoughts and papers."¹ It was printed

¹ *Bloody Tenent yet More Bloody*, p. 38.

without the name of the writer or publisher. It must have passed through two impressions in the same year. For while one volume, which is literally followed in the present edition, has a table of errata, another printed in the same year, and of course afterwards, has the errata corrected, with slight changes in the type and orthography of the title page.¹ Otherwise the two correspond, page to page, and even line to line.

It is independent of his previous controversy with Cotton, though indirectly related to it, and following it by very natural consequence. It had probably been growing in his mind for years. At all events the arguments of Mr. Cotton to which it is a reply have a much earlier date, according to his own account. He says in 1647, "Mr. Williams sent me about a dozen years agoe (as I remember) a letter, penned (as he wrote) by a Prisoner in Newgate, touching persecution for Conscience sake: and intreated my judgement of it for the satisfaction of his friend." This "letter" was a part,—the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th chapters,—of a work printed in 1620, entitled *A most Humble Supplication of the King's Majesty's Loyal Subjects, ready to testify all Civil Obedience, by the Oath of Allegiance, or otherwise, and that of Conscience; who are persecuted (only for differing in Religion) contrary to Divine and Human Testimonies: As followeth.*³ It is signed by "your Majesty's loyal subjects unjustly called Anabaptists." According to Williams "the Authour of these

¹ One of the principal differences in orthography is in the substitution of *tenet* for *tenent*; the singular for the plural of the Latin *teneo*. It was probably the choice of the printer, as Williams retains his original usage eight years later in *The Bloody Tenent yet More Bloody. Tenent*, for an opinion held by more than one, is

used by Sir Thomas Browne, and even as late as 1726 by Wollaston in his *Religion of Nature*, p. 111. Lond. 1726.

² *Bloudy Tenent Washed*, p. 1.

³ It is reprinted by Crosby, *Hist. of Baptists*, ii. Appendix, 10-51, and in *Traits on Liberty of Conscience*, &c. Harford Knollys Society, pp. 189-231.

Arguments being committed by some then in power, close prisoner to Newgate, for the witness of some truths of Jesus, and having not the use of Pen and Inke, wrote these Arguments in Milke, in sheets of Paper, brought to him by the Woman his Keeper, from a friend in London, as the Stopples of his Milk bottle." Dr. Underhill conjectures that it must have been written by John Murton, or as Crosby calls him, Morton, who was associated with Helwisse in Holland, and after his return, in England, and against whom John Robinson directed one of his controversial works.²

Williams denies that this treatise was sent by him to Cotton, or that the reply was private, as Cotton alleged in complaint against its being printed in this work. He says, "To my knowledge there was no such letter or intercourse passed between Master Cotton and the discussor; but what I have heard is this: One Master Hall of Roxbury, presented the prisoners Arguments against persecution to Master Cotton, who gave this present controverted Answer; with the which Master Hall not being satisfied, he sends them unto the discussor, who never saw the said Hall, nor those Arguments in writing; (though he well remember that he saw them in print some yeers since.)"³

¹ Page 61, *infra*.

² *Treats on Liberty of Cons.* 89, 187. Crosby, *History of Baptists*, i: 99, 276. Ivimey, *do.* i: 125. Taylor, *do.* i: 95. The title of Robinson's work is "A Defence of the Doctrine propounded by the Synod at Dort, against John Murton and his Associates, with the Refutation to their Answer to a writing touching baptism. By John Robinson. Printed in the year 1624." See Young, *Chron. of Pilgrims*, p. 454.

³ *Bloody Tenent, yet More Bloody*, p. 4.

I find no evidence that "Master Hall" was "a congregational minister," as is stated by Dr. Underhill in his Biographical Introduction. Probably he is the John Hall of Roxbury, noticed in Savage, *Geneal. Dict.* ii: 334, "who in the church records has prefix of respect, and I presume, was the freeman of 6 May 1635, unless he may rather be reckoned of 13 May, 1640: but as no further mention of him occurs here, perhaps he removed with the great migration to Connecticut, and was at Hartford 1644,

Williams proceeds to examine not only Cotton's Answer to the prisoner's Arguments, but also in the last fifty-six chapters, the "Treatise sent to some of the Brethren late of Salem," to which Cotton refers at the close. (p. 53.) This is called *A Model of Church and Civil Power*, and as Cotton referred his correspondent to it as complementing what he had already written, Williams felt justified in ascribing its composition to him "and the Ministers of New England." Cotton however asserts very explicitly "that he was none of them that composed it." Dr. Underhill infers that "the real author of it was probably Mr. Richard Mather,"² from

and at Middletown 1654, where he died 26 May 1673, aged 89." I think he is quite as likely to have been the freeman of May 14, 1634, at which date Cotton, Hooker and Stone, the three ministers who arrived in the same ship the previous September, were admitted also. *Massachusetts Colonial Records*, i: 369. If he is the same who died at Middletown, he also arrived in Boston the same year (1633) with these divines. I am indebted to Mr. Trumbull, of Hartford, for a note in regard to him, in which he is said to have died May 26, 1673, "being the 89th year of his age, and the 40th of his being in New England." "By his will (executed May 14, 1673) he gave 10 shillings 'towards encouraging of a reading and writing school in Middletown.' So, if not himself a minister, he wished his children to have 'the benefit of clergy' as far as ten shillings would go." He is mentioned "with prefix of respect" in the *Mass. Colonial Records*, i: 241, 271.

Williams says that he had not seen the prisoner's Arguments in writing, although he had seen them in print "some yeers since;" but he does not say that Cotton's

Answer was in print, though he says it "was as publike as Master Cottons profession of the same tenent was and is."

The copy I have made use of, from the library of a gentleman in this city, has the following title:—The Controversie concerning Liberty of Conscience in Matters of Religion, Truly stated, and distinctly and plainly handled, By Mr. John Cotton of Boston in New England. By way of answer to some Arguments to the contrary sent unto him. Wherein you have, against all cavills of turbulent spirits, clearly manifested, wherein liberty of conscience in matters of Religion ought to be permitted, and in what cases it ought not, by the said Mr. Cotton. London. Printed by Robert Austin, for Thomas Banks, and are to be sold at Mrs. Breaches Shop in Westminster-Hall, 1649.

Dr. Underhill speaks of "the only edition known" to him, as printed in 1646. Both of these agree with Williams's copy in the following work.

¹ *Bloody Tenent Washed*, p. 192.

² Introduction to Hanford Knollys Society edition of *Bloody Tenent*, page xxxii.

the statement of Cotton Mather, that "when the Platform of Church-Discipline was agreed by a Synod of these Churches, in the year 1647, Mr. Mather's Model was that out of which it was chiefly taken."¹ But the "Model" here referred to is in all probability the one which Mather was appointed to draw up by the Synod.² Moreover, Cotton Mather would never have omitted this from the list of his grandfather's published works, if he could have found the least reason for ascribing it to him. And as there is no direct evidence of Mather's authorship, while the internal evidence is against it, the early date which must be given to the *Model* here examined is quite conclusive. He landed in Boston August 17, 1635.³ But Cotton says of Williams, that "when I wrote that Letter, he (for ought I can remember) did then keepe communion with all his Brethren, and held loving acquaintance with my selfe."⁴ Now Winthrop, under the same date in which he records the arrival of the ship in which Mather came, Aug. 16, 1635, informs us that Williams wrote to the church in Salem "that he could not communicate with the Churches in the bay."⁵ So that the letter of Cotton must have been written before Mather reached New England, and the "treatise" must have been "sent to some of the Brethren late of Salem" even earlier than that. Williams probably did not receive a copy of the *Model* until after his banishment, although it was written and sent to Salem before that. For he says that he "wrote

¹ *Magnalia*, i: 409.

² "They directed three eminent persons, namely, Mr. John Cotton, Mr. Richard Mather, and Mr. Ralph Partridge, each of them to draw up a scriptural model of church government; unto the end that out of those there might be

one educed, which the Synod might after the most filing thoughts upon it, send abroad." *Magnalia*, ii: 182.

³ R. Mather's *Journal*, in Young's *Chron. of Mass.* 479.

⁴ *Bloudy Tenent Washed*, p. 15.

⁵ *New England*, i: 198.

on purpose to his worthy friend Mr. Sharpe (Elder of the Church of Salem, (so called) for the sight of it, who accordingly *sent it to him.*"

This tract, which probably was never printed, except by extracts in *The Bloody Tenent*, took its origin, so far as it can now be traced, from the Act of the General Court of March 4, 1634, in which they "intreate of the elders and brethren of every church within this jurisdiction, that they will consult & advise of one uniforme order of discipline in the churches, agreeable to the Scriptures, and then to consider *howe farr the Magistrates are bound to interpose for the preservation of that uniformity & peace of the churches.*"² This is the precise question which the *Model of Church and Civil Power* undertakes to decide,—"what bounds and limits the Lord hath set between both the administrations,"³—and it is the earliest matured attempt to deal with the great problem which vexed the mind of the early legislators of Massachusetts. It is valuable and deserves more attention than it has received, as an illustration of the first efforts of the New England immigrants in defining and balancing the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions. But Williams had learned a much shorter and surer way to solve the problem. He takes up this, and Cotton's letter, as representative of the spirit and

¹ *Bloody Tenent yet More Bloody*, page 291. Samuel Sharpe, who had been an Assistant of the Massachusetts Company in England, came over to Salem in 1629. He was Master-gunner of ordnance, and was also chosen ruling elder of the church. Young, *Chron. of Mass.*, 157. He died in 1658. He had occasion to feel the hand of power as well as his friend Williams. At the same meeting of the Court at which Williams was

sentenced, "Mr. Sam^l. Sharpe is enjoined to appeare att the nexte particular Court, to answere for the letter that came from the Church of Salem, *as also to bring the names of those that will justify the same*, or else to acknowledge his offence under his owne hand for his owne particular." *Mass. Col. Records*, 1: 161.

² *Mass. Col. Rec.* i: 142.

³ Preface to *Model*, §c., p. 222, *infra*.

the principles then dominant, and uses them to set off in full contrast the principles of civil and spiritual freedom to which he had advanced. He advocates a method which Cotton and the writers of the *Model*, and the early legislators of Massachusetts thought unsafe, if indeed they did not count it wrong and impracticable. He cut the knot they were trying to untie, by simply divorcing the two jurisdictions, and remanding the civil power to its own separate sphere. His courage and his prescient wisdom time has vindicated. He dared to found his commonwealth on the principles which the prudent divines and legislators of the Massachusetts Colony feared would be the peril of the State, and the doom of Religion. All that can be said is, that with both parties equally conscientious, and faithful to their light, Williams saw farther, and had learned the true ideas of civil and ecclesiastical polity sooner than they.

And yet he was not alone, nor the first in maintaining absolute freedom in religion. Milton, at the very time that this work was issuing from the press, was printing another, in which the English language reaches the summit of eloquent prose, taking similar high and generous grounds for liberty of thought, and recognizing his fellow laborers, whose names and works were so unequal in power and fortune to his. "Now once again," he says, "by all concurrence of signs, and by the general instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly express their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in his church, even to the reforming of reformation itself. Behold now this vast city, a city of refuge, the mansion-house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection; the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers working, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed jus-

tice in defence of beleagured truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation."¹

There is no evidence that Williams was then known to Milton: although the acquaintance may have then begun, of which he writes as existing during his second visit to England.² Milton may have known him as one among many "pens and heads, revolving new notions and ideas," whose writings looked towards "the approaching reformation." In this same year, 1644, John Goodwin published the work alluded to on the 165th and 185th pages of the present volume.³ *The Compassionate Samaritan, Unbinding the Conscience, &c.*, was also issued in the same year, and with Goodwin's work and *The Bloody Tenent* were sharply criticised in *Wholsome Severity reconciled with Christian Liberty*, published in 1645.⁴ But many years before the Baptists had uttered their remonstrances against the use of civil power in spiritual affairs.⁵ As early as 1611 they issued a Confession of Faith, which says, "that the Magistrate is not to meddle with relig-

¹ *Areopagitica*, Bohn's ed. ii: 91.

² "The Secretary of the Council (Mr. Milton) for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages." Letter to John Winthrop, July 12, 1654. Knowles, *Memoir*, p. 264.

³ *M. S. to A. S. with a Plea for Liberty of Conscience in a Church Way, &c.* London. 1644.

⁴ Another contemporary tract was *A Paraenetick or Humble Addresse to the Parliament and Assembly for (not loose) but Christian Libertie*. London. Printed by Mathew Simmons for Henry Overton.

1644. 4to 14 pp.

Another was *Liberty of Conscience: or the Sole meanes to obtain Peace and Truth*. Printed in the Yeare 1643.

⁵ As late as 1688 Bossuet charged that with the exception of Baptists and Socinians Protestants held the doctrine of the Roman Church on this subject. "Puis qu'en ce point les protestants sont d'accord avec nous. Et je ne connois parmi les chrétiens que les focieniens et les anabaptists qui s'opposent à cette doctrine." *Histoire des Variations*, Liv. x. 56. *Œuvres*, xxviii: 62, 63.

ion or matters of conscience, nor to compel men to this or that form of religion; because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the church and conscience."¹

The Hanserd Knollys Society has printed a collection of Tracts on Liberty of Conscience and Persecution which were published in England between 1614 and 1661. Three of them preceded the present work.² All of them proceeded from those who felt the pressure of civil power, and they contributed to the general agitation of the question which naturally arose during the sittings of the Westminster Assembly, and the struggles of civil and religious factions which then divided the kingdom. They were the earliest articulate cries of the voice whose line has gone out through all the earth, and its words to the end of the world. Other and mightier were soon heard, with which Williams had no immediate relation, but echoing the same notes, though not so clear and pronounced as his. He preceded only by three years Jeremy Taylor, who spoke from the other extreme of ecclesiastical opinion. From the learned quiet or exile of Golden Grove in 1647 he sent forth what Williams called "an Everlasting Monumentall Testimony to this Truth, in

¹ Crosby, *Hist. Eng. Bap.* I. App., 71. The parts of this Confession given by Crosby were collected from a work of John Robinson, of Leyden, written in reply to it. It was written by Helwisse, John Smith's successor at Amsterdam. Crosby, i: 271. In the Appendix to his second volume Crosby gives the Confession entire; but it does not contain the sentence quoted in the text. It however omits Article XXV., which may have contained this sentence. Robinson of course, could not have invented it. His reply to this sentence, which shows how

far in the rear this early and noble pastor of the Pilgrims was, is quoted in *Tracts for Liberty of Conscience*, p. 91.

² *Religious Peace: or A Plea for Liberty of Conscience* by Leonard Bulther Citizen of London, and Printed in the Year 1614.

Persecution for Religion Judg'd and Condemn'd, &c. 1615.

A Most Humble Supplication &c. 1620. This is the work from which the Prisoner's Arguments, pp. 1-39, *infra*, were taken.

that his excellent Discourse, of the Libertie of Propheſying."¹ With him Mr. Lecky affociates Harrington and Milton as "the three principal writers who at this time represented the movement of toleration."² But while they gave it intellectual weight, they ought not to overshadow the earlier and

¹ *Bloody Tenent yet More Bloody*, Appendix, p. 317. This sentence is from a letter of seven pages "to the Cleargie of the foure great Parties," in which Williams expresse the same fears as on pp. 350, 351, of the present volume—and gives more fully their grounds—that the Independents if they had the power would use it for persecution. "Doe not all persecutours themselves zealously plead for Freedom, for Libertie, for Mercie to Men's Consciences, when themselves are in the Grates, and Pits, and under Hatches? Thus bloudie Gardiner and Bonner, yea and that bloudie Queene Mary her selfe, all plead the Freedom of their Consciences. * * Yea what excellent subscriptions to this Soule Freedom, are interwoven in many passages of the late Kings Booke (if his)? Yea and one of his Chaplaines (so cald) Doctør Jer. Taylour, what an Everlasting Monumentall Testimony did he publish to this Truth in that his excellent Discourse, of the Libertie of Propheſying?" He writes to Mrs. Sadleir in 1652-3, as follows: "My honoured Friend, since you please not to read mine, let me pray leave to request your reading of one book of your own authors. I mean the Liberty of Propheſying, penned by (so called) Dr. Jer. Taylor. In the which is excellently asserted the toleration of differing religions, yea, in a respect, that of the papists themselves, which is a new way of soul freedom, and yet is the old way of Christ Jesus, as all his holy Tef-

tament declares. I also humbly wish that you may please to read over impartially Mr. Milton's answer to the King's book." *Elton's Life*, p. 97.

The event proved the justice of Williams's judgment in regard to Taylor, as he retreated from his principles when he received promotion and his church was again ascendant. Coleridge comments on his change of opinion with considerable sharpness. "If Jeremy Taylor had not in effect retreated after the Restoration, if he had not, as soon as the church gained power, most basely disclaimed and disavowed the principle of toleration, and apologised for the publication by declaring it to have been a *ruse de guerre*, currying pardon for his past liberalism by charging and most probably flandering himself with the guilt of falsehood, treachery and hypocrisy, his character as a man would have been almost stainless." His judgment of Milton's work in comparison with Taylor's may be added. "The Liberty of Propheſying is an admirable work, in many respects, and calculated to produce a much greater effect on many than Milton's treatise on the same subject: on the other hand Milton's is throughout unmixed truth; and the man who in reading the two does not feel the contrast between the simplemindedness of the one and the *strabismus* in the other, is—in the road to preferment." *Literary Remains*, iii: 204, 250.

² *Hist. of Rationalism*, ii: 79, 80.

humbler pioneers, who like Williams, not only wrought out their convictions in suffering, but planted it on the everlasting grounds of reason and justice, contending not simply for toleration but for absolute liberty.

But notwithstanding all the names and the influences which were carrying forward the doctrine of spiritual liberty, this work met a harsh reception. The writer says in 1671, "'Tis true my first book 'The Bloody Tenent' was burned by the Presbyterian party (then prevailing.)" The 69th question in *Necessity of Toleration in Matters of Religion*, by Samuel Richardson, "Printed in the Yeare of Jubilee 1647," is "Whether the priests were not the cause of the burning of the book, entitled 'The Bloudy Tenent,' because it was against persecution?"² This may account for the immediate appearance of a second impression. It indicates the spirit of the dominant party.³ And yet it was not without influence. He writes eight years later:⁴ "Some persons of no contemptible note nor intelligence, have by letters from England, informed the discusser, that these Images of clouts it hath pleased God to make use of to stop no small leakes

¹ Letter to John Cotton jr., dated Providence, 26 March, 1671. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, March, 1858.

² *Traacts on Liberty of Conscience*, 270.

³ The attitude of the Presbyterian party towards toleration is shown by Neal, *Hist. of Puritans*, ii: 17-19. Also by Marsden, *Later Puritans*, 155. See pp. 350, 351, *infra*. Williams evidently distrusted the Independents as well as the Presbyterians, and inferred, perhaps from their affiliation with his opponents on this side of the water, that their disposition was little better. Robert Baylie, the keen and hard-headed Scotch member of the Westminster Assembly, gives

countenance to his judgment. He writes, "Liberty of conscience, and toleration of all or any religion, is so prodigious an impiety, that this religious parliament cannot but abhor the very meaning of it. Whatever may be the opinions of John Goodwin, Mr. Williams, and some of that stamp, yet Mr. Burroughes, in his late *Irenicum*, upon many unanswerable arguments, explodes that abomination." Burroughes was one of the Five Independent Brethren in the Westminster Assembly. The quotation from Baylie I take from a note in *Traacts on Liberty of Conscience*, p. 270.

⁴ *Bloody Tenent yet More Bloody*, p. 38.

of persecution, that lately begun to flow in upon dissenting consciences, and (amongst others) to Master Cotton's own, and to the peace and quietness of the Independents, which they have so long, and so wonderfully enjoyed."

THE NARRAGANSETT CLUB now gives this work its second reprint. It was printed by the Hanserd Knollys Society in England in 1848, under the care of its accomplished Secretary, Dr. Underhill. There is a copy of each of the original impressions in the Library of Brown University. The Club is indebted to Mr. John Carter Brown for the use of a copy of the first of these impressions. Copies are also in the Library of Harvard University, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in the Public Library of the City of Boston. Amendments in the text of the present edition suggested by the Editor are placed in brackets.

S. L. C.

38 ANGELL STREET, PROVIDENCE, NOV. 13, 1867.

T H E
BLOVDY TENENT,
of PERSECUTION, for caufe of
CONSCIENCE, difcuffed, in

A Conference betweene

TRVTH and PEACE.

VV H O,

In all tender Affection, prefent to the High
Court of *Parliament*, (as the *Result* of their
Discourſe) theſe, (amongſt other *Paſſages*)
of *higheſt conſideration*.



Printed in the Year 1644.

FIRST, That the blood of so many hundred thousand soules of *Protestants* and *Papists*, spilt in the *Wars* of *present* and *former Ages*, for their respective *Consciences*, is not required nor accepted by *Jesus Christ* the *Prince of Peace*.

Secondly, *Pregnant Scriptures* and *Arguments* are throughout the *Worke* proposed against the *Doctrine* of *persecution* for for *cause* of *Conscience*.

Thirdly, *Satisfactorie Answers* are given to *Scriptures*, and objections produced by *Mr. Calvin*, *Beza*, *Mr. Cotton*, and the *Ministers* of the *New English Churches* and others former and later, tending to prove the *Doctrine* of *persecution* for *cause* of *Conscience*.

Fourthly, The *Doctrine* of *persecution* for *cause* of *Conscience*, is proved guilty of all the *blood* of the *Soules* crying for *vengeance* under the *Altar*.

Fifthly, All *Civill States* with their *Officers* of *justice* in their respective *constitutions* and *administrations* are proved *essentially Civill*, and therefore not *Judges*, *Governours* or *Defendours* of the *Spirituall* or *Christian state* and *Worship*.

Sixtly, It is the will and command of *God*, that (since the coming of his *Sonne* the *Lord Jesus*) a *permission* of the most *Paganish*, *Jewish*, *Turkish*, or *Antichristian consciences* and *worships*, bee granted to *all men* in *all Nations* and *Countries*: and they are onely to bee fought against with that *Sword* which is only (in *Soule matters*) able to conquer, to wit, the *Sword* of *Gods Spirit*, the *Word* of *God*.

Seventhly, The *state* of the Land of *Israel*, the *Kings* and *people* thereof in *Peace* & *War*, is proved *figurative* and *cereemoniall*, and no *patterne* nor *president* for any *Kingdome* or *civill state* in the *world* to follow.

Eightly, *God* requireth not an *uniformity* of *Religion* to be *inacted* and *inforced* in any *civill state*; which *inforced uni-*

formity (sooner or later) is the greatest occasion of *civill Warre*, *ravishing of conscience*, *persecution of Christ Jesus* in his servants, and of the *hypocrisie* and *destruction* of millions of *souls*.

Ninthly, In holding an enforced *uniformity* of *Religion* in a *civill state*, wee must necessarily *disclaime* our desires and hopes of the *Iewes conversion* to *Christ*.

Tenthly, An enforced *uniformity* of *Religion* throughout a *Nation* or *civill state*, confounds the *Civill* and *Religious*, denies the principles of Christianity and civility, and that *Jesus Christ* is come in the *Flesh*.

Eleventhly, The permission of other *consciences* and *worships* then a state professeth, only can (according to God) procure a firme and lasting *peace*, (good *assurance* being taken according to the *wisedome* of the *civill state* for *uniformity* of *civill obedience* from all forts.)

Twelfthly, lastly, true *civility* and *Christianity* may both flourish in a *state* or *Kingdome*, notwithstanding the *permission* of divers and contrary *consciences*, either of *Iew* or *Gentile*.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE,
both Houses of the High Court of
PARLIAMENT.

Right Honourable and Renowned Patriots :

NEXT to the saving of your own *soules* (in the lamentable *shipwrack* of *Mankind*) your taske (as *Christians*) is to save the *Soules*, but as *Magistrates*, the *Bodies* and *Goods* of others.

Many excellent *Discourses* have been presented to your *Fathers* hands and Yours in former and present *Parliaments* : I shall be humbly bold to say, that (in what concerns your duties as *Magistrates*, towards others) a more necessary and seasonable *debate* was never yet presented.

Two things your *Honours* here may please to view (in this Controversie of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*) beyond what's extant.

First the whole *Body* of this *Controversie* form'd & pitch'd in true *Battalia*.

Secondly (although in respect of my selfe it be *impar congressus*, yet in the power of that *God* who is *Maximus in Minimis*, Your Honours shall see the Controversie is discussed with men as able as most, eminent for *abilitie* and *pietie*, Mr. *Cotton*, and the *New English Ministers*.

When the *Prophets* in Scripture have given their *Coats of Armes* and *Escutchions* to *Great Men*, Your Honours know the *Babylonian Monarch* hath the *Lyon*,

the *Persian* the *Beare*, the *Grecian* the *Leopard*, the *Romane* a compound of the former 3. most strange and dreadfull, *Dan.* 7.

Their oppressing, plundering, ravishing, murdering, not only of the *bodies*, but the *soules* of Men are large explaining *commentaries* of such similitudes.

Your *Honours* have been famous to the end of the World, for your unparallel'd *wisdome*, *courage*, *justice*, *mercie*, in the vindicating your *Civill Lawes*, *Liberties*, &c. Yet let it not be grievous to your *Honours* thoughts to ponder a little, why all the *Prayers* and *Teares* and *Fastings* in this Nation have not pierc'd the *Heavens*, and quench'd these *Flames*, which yet who knowes how far they'll spread, and when they'll out!

Your *Honours* have broke the jawes of the *Oppressour*, and taken the prey out of their Teeth (*Iob.* 29.) For which Act I believe it hath pleased the most High God to set a *Guard* (not only of Trained Men, but) of mighty *Angels*, to secure your sitting and the Citie.

I feare we are not *pardoned*, though *reprieved*: O that there may be a lengthning of *Londons* tranquillitie, of the *Parliaments* safetie, by *mercy* to the *poore*! *Dan.* 4.

Right Honorable, *Soule yokes*, *Soule oppression*, *plundrings*, *ravishings*, &c. are of a *crimson* and *deepest dye*, and I believe the chiefe of *Englands* sins, unstopping the Viols of *Englands* present forrowes.

This glasse presents your *Honours* with *Arguments* from *Religion*, *Reason*, *Experience*, all proving that the greatest yoakes yet lying upon *English necks*, (the

peoples and Your own) are of a *spirituall* and *soule* nature.

All former *Parliaments* have changed these yoakes according to their *consciences*, (*Popish* or *Protestant*) 'Tis now your *Honours* turne at *helme*, and (as your *task*, so I hope your *resolution*, not to change (for that is but to turne the wheele, which another *Parliament*, and the very next may turne againe :) but to ease the Subjects and Your selves from a *yoake* (as was once spoke in a case not unlike *Act. 15.*) which neither You nor your Fathers were ever able to beare.

Most *Noble Senatours*, Your *Fathers* (whose *seats* You fill) are mouldred, and mouldring their *braines*, their *tongues*, &c. to *ashes* in the pit of *rottenesse*: They and You must shortly (together with two *worlds* of men) appeare at the great *Barre*: It shall then be no grieffe of heart that you have now attended to the *cries* of *Soules*, *thousands oppressed*, *millions ravished* by the *Acts* and *Statutes* concerning *Soules*, not yet *repealed*.¹

Of *Bodies impoverished*, *imprisoned*, &c. for their *soules* believe, yea slaughtered on heapes for *Religions* controversies in the *Warres* of present and former Ages.

“Notwithstanding the successe of later times,
 “(wherein sundry opinions have been hatched about
 “the subject of *Religion*) a man may clearly discern
 “with his eye, and as it were touch with his finger
 “that according to the verity of holy Scriptures, &c.
 “mens *consciences* ought in no sort to be violated,

The famous saying of a late King of Bohemia.

¹ The sentence continues, with a semicolon instead of the period.

“urged or constrained. And whensoever men have
 “attempted any thing by this violent course, whether
 “openly or by secret meanes, the issue hath beene
 “pernicious, and the cause of great and *wonderfull inno-*
“vations in the principallest and mightiest *Kingdomes*
 “and *Countries*, &c.¹

It cannot be denied to be a pious and prudentiall
act for Your *Honours* (according to your conscience)
 to call for the advice of faithfull *Councillours* in the
 high debates concerning Your owne, and the soules
 of others.

Yet let it not be imputed as a *crime* for any *suppli-*
ant to the *God of Heaven* for You, if in the humble
 sense of what their soules beleve, they powre forth
 (amongst others) these three *requests* at the *Throne*
 of *Grace*.

First, That neither Your *Honours*, nor those excel-
 lent and worthy persons, whose advice you seek,
 limit the holy *One* of *Israel* to their *apprehensions*,
debates, *conclusions*, rejecting or neglecting the humble
 and faithfull suggestions of any, though as base as
 spittle and clay, with which sometimes *Christ Iesus*
 opens the *eyes* of them that are borne blinde.

Secondly, That the present and future *generations*
 of the Sons of Men may never have cause to say that
 such a *Parliament* (as *England* never enjoyed the like)
 should modell the *worship* of the *living, eternall* and
invisible God after the *Bias* of any earthly *interest*,
 though of the highest concernment under the Sunne:
 And yet, faith that learned Sir *Francis Bacon* (how
 ever otherwise perswaded, yet thus he confesseth:)

Essay of
 Religion.

¹ Quoted also in *Scriptures and Reasons*, see note, *infra*.

“ Such as hold *pressure of Conscience*, are guided therein
 “ by some private *interests* of their owne.¹

Thirdly, What ever way of *worshipping God* Your
 owne *Consciences* are perswaded to walke in, yet (from
 any bloody *act* of violence to the consciences of others)
 it may bee never told at *Rome* nor *Oxford*, that the
Parliament of England hath committed a greater
rape, then if they had forced or ravished the bodies
 of all the women in the *World*.

It is rarely
 seen that
 ever per-
 sons were
 persecuted
 for their
 conscience
 but by such
 persecu-
 tion they
 were con-
 firmed and
 hardned in
 their con-
 science.

And that *Englands Parliament* (so famous through-
 out all Europe and the World) should at last turne
Papists, Prelatists, Presbyterians, Independents, Socin-
ians, Familists, Antinomians, &c. by confirming all
 these sorts of Consciences, by Civill force and violence
 to their Consciences.

¹ “ It was a notable observation of a
 wife father, and no less ingenuously con-
 fessed; *that those who held and perswaded*
pressure of conscience, were commonly inter-

essed therein themselves for their own
ends.” Essay 3, Unity in Religion, ed. of
 1625; Spedding’s Bacon, xii : 91.

To every Courteous Reader.

WHILE I plead the Cause of *Truth* and *Innocencie* against the bloody *Doctrin*e of *Persecution* for cause of *conscience*, I judge it not unfit to give *alarme* to my selfe, and all men to prepare to be *persecuted* or hunted for cause of *conscience*.

Whether thou standest charged with 10 or but 2 *Talents*, if thou huntest any for cause of *conscience*, how canst thou say thou followest the *Lambe* of *God* who so abhorr'd that practice?

If *Paul*, if *Jesus Christ* were present here at *London*, and the *question* were proposed what *Religion* would they approve of: The *Papists*, *Prelatists*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, &c. would each say, Of mine, of mine.

But put the second question, if one of the severall sorts should by *major vote* attaine the *Sword* of *steele*: what weapons doth *Christ Jesus* authorize them to fight with in His cause? Doe not all men hate the *persecutor*, and every *conscience* true or false complaine of cruelty, tyranny? &c.

Two *mountaines* of crying *guilt* lye heavie upon the backes of All that name the name of *Christ* in the eyes of *Jewes*, *Turkes* and *Pagans*.

First, The blasphemies of their *Idolatrous inventions*, *superstitions*, and most *unchristian conversations*.

Secondly, The bloody irreligious and inhumane *oppressions* and *destructions* under the maske or vaile of the Name of *Christ*, &c.

O how like is the *jealous Jehovah*, the consuming fire to end these present *slaughters* in a greater slaughter of the holy *Witnesses*? *Rev.* 11.

Six yeares preaching of so much Truth of *Christ* (as that time afforded in K. *Edwards* dayes) kindles the flames of Q. *Maries* bloody *persecutions*.

Who can now but expect that after so many scores of yeares *preaching* and *professing* of more Truth, and amongst so many great *contentions* amongst the very best of *Protestants*, a fierie furnace should be heat, and who sees not now the *fires* kindling?

I confesse I have little hopes till those flames are over, that this Discourse against the *doctrine* of *persecution* for cause of *conscience* should passe currant (I say not amongst the *Wolves* and *Lions*, but even amongst the *Sheep* of *Christ* themselves) yet *liberavi animam meam*, I have not hid within my *breast* my *souls* belief: And although sleeping on the bed either of the pleasures or profits of sinne thou thinkest thy conscience bound to smite at him that dares to waken thee? Yet in the midst of all these *civill* and *spirituall Wars* (I hope we shall agree in these particulars.)

First, how ever the proud (upon the advantage of an higher earth or ground) or'elooke the poore and cry out *Schismatics*, *Hereticks*, &c. shall *blasphemers* and *seducers* scape unpunished? &c. Yet there is a forer punishment in the *Gospel* for despising of *Christ* then *Moses*, even when the despiser of *Moses* was put to death without mercie, *Heb.* 10. 28, 29. He that beleeveth not shall bee damned, *Marke* 16. 16.

Secondly, what ever Worship, Ministry, Ministration, the best and purest are practised without *faith* and true perswasion that they are the true institutions of God, they are sin, finfull worships, Ministries, &c. And however in Civill things we may be servants unto men, yet in Divine and Spirituall things the poorest *pesant* must disdain the service

of the highest *Prince*: Be ye not the servants of men, 1 Cor. 14. [vii: 23.]

Thirdly, without search and triall no man attaines this faith and right perswasion, 1 *Thes.* 5. Try all things.

In vaine have *English Parliaments* permitted *English Bibles* in the poorest *English* houses, and the simplest man or woman to search the Scriptures, if yet against their soules perswasion from the Scripture, they should be forced (as if they lived in *Spaine* or *Rome* it selfe without the sight of a *Bible*) to beleewe as the Church beleeves.

Fourthly, having tried, we must hold fast, 1 *Thessal.* 5. upon the losse of a Crowne, *Revel.* 13. [iii: 11.] we must not let goe for all the flea bitings of the present afflictions, &c. having bought Truth deare, we must not sell it cheape, not the least graine of it for the whole World, no not for the saving of Soules, though our owne most precious; least of all for the bitter sweetning of a little vanishing pleasure.

For a little puffe of credit and reputation from the changeable breath of uncertaine sons of men.[:]

For the broken bagges of Riches on Eagles wings: For a dreame of these, any or all of these which on our death-bed vanish and leave tormenting stings behinde them: Oh how much better is it from the love of Truth, from the love of the Father of lights, from whence it comes, from the love of the Sonne of God, who is the way and the Truth, to say as he, *John* 18. 37. For this end was I borne, and for this end came I into the World that I might beare witnesse to the Truth.

A Table of the principall Contents
of the Booke.

T <i>Ruth and Peace their rare and seldome meeting.</i>	Page 15
2 <i>Great complaints of Peace.</i>	16
<i>Persecutors seldome plead Christ but Moses for their Authour.</i>	17
<i>Strife Christian and unchristian.</i>	ibid
<i>A threefold dolefull cry.</i>	ibid.
<i>The wonderfull providence of God in the writing of the arguments against persecution.</i>	18
<i>A definition of persecution discussed.</i>	19
<i>Conscience will not be restrained from its owne worship, nor constrained to another.</i>	20
<i>A chaste soule in Gods worship, compared to a chaste wife.</i>	ibid.
<i>Gods people have erred from the very fundamentalls of visible worship.</i>	ibid
4 <i>Sorts of spirituall foundations in the New Testament.</i>	21
<i>The 6 fundamentalls of the Christian Religion.</i>	ibid.
<i>The coming out of Babel not locall, but mysticall.</i>	ibid.
<i>The great ignorance of Gods people concerning the nature of a true Church.</i>	ibid.
<i>Common-Prayer written against by the New English Ministers.</i>	23
<i>Gods people have worshipped God with false worships.</i>	ibid.
<i>God is pleased sometimes to convey good unto his people beyond a promise.</i>	ibid.
<i>A notable speech of King James to a great Nonconformist turned persecutor.</i>	24
<i>Civill peace discussed.</i>	ibid.

<i>The difference between Spirituall and civill state.</i>	Page 25
<i>Six cases wherein Gods people have been usually accounted arrogant, and peace breakers, but most unjustly</i>	26
<i>The true causes of breach and disturbance of civill peace.</i>	29
<i>A preposterous way of suppressing errours.</i>	30
<i>Persecutors must needs oppresse both erroneous and true consciences.</i>	ibid.
<i>All persecutors of Christ professe not to persecute him.</i>	ibid.
<i>What is meant by the Hereticke, Tit. 3.</i>	33
<i>The word Heretick generally mistaken.</i>	34
<i>Corporall killing in the Law, typing out Spirituall killing in the Gospell.</i>	36
<i>The cariage of a Soule sensible of mercy, towards others in their blindnesse, &c.</i>	38
<i>The difference between the Church, and the World wherein it is, in all places.</i>	38
<i>The Church and civill State confusedly made all one.</i>	39
<i>The most peaceable accused for peace-breaking.</i>	40
<i>A large Examination of what is meant by the Tares, and letting of them alone.</i>	ibid.
<i>Sathans subtiltie about the opening of Scripture.</i>	41
<i>Two sorts of Hypocrites,</i>	44
<i>The Lord Jesus the great Teacher by Parables, and the only Expounder of them.</i>	44
<i>Preaching for conversion is properly out of the Church.</i>	45
<i>The tares proved properly to signifie Antichristians.</i>	ibid.
<i>Gods Kingdome on Earth the visible Church.</i>	46
<i>The difference between the Wheat and the Tares, as also betweene these Tares and all others.</i>	46
<i>A civill Magistracie from the beginning of the world.</i>	47
<i>The Tares are to be tolerated the longest of all sinners.</i>	48
<i>The danger of infection by permitting of the Tares, assoyled.</i>	ibid.

<i>The civill Magistrate not so particularly spoken to in the New Testament as Fathers, Masters, &c. and why.</i>	Page 50
<i>A two-fold state of Christianitie; Persecuted under the Romane Emperours, and Apostated under the Romane Popes.</i>	ibid.
<i>3 Particulars contained in that prohibition of Christ Jesus concerning the Tares, Let them alone, Mat. 13.</i>	51
<i>Accompanying with Idolaters, 1 Cor. 5. discussed.</i>	52
<i>Civill Magistrates never invested by Christ Jesus with the power and title of Defenders of the Faith.</i>	54
<i>Gods people ever earnest with God for an Arme of Flesh.</i>	55
<i>The dreadfull punishment of the blind Pharises in 4 respects.</i>	ibid.
<i>The point of seducing, infecting, or Soule killing, examined.</i>	57
<i>Strange confusions in punishments.</i>	59
<i>The blood of Soules, Acts 20. lies upon such as professe the Ministry: the blood of Bodies only upon the State.</i>	ibid.
<i>Ujurers and Heires of Christ Jesus.</i>	60
<i>The Civill Magistrate bound to preserve the bodies of their subjects, and not to destroy them for conscience sake.</i>	61
<i>The fire from heaven, Rev. 13. 13. 2 Tim. 2. 25, 26. examined.</i>	62
<i>The originall of the Christian name, Acts 11.</i>	63
<i>A Civill sword in Religion makes a Nation of hypocrites, Isa. 10</i>	64
<i>A difference of the true and false Christ and Christians.</i>	65
<i>The nature of the worship of unbelieving and naturall persons.</i>	ibid.
<i>Antoninus Pius his famous act concerning Religion.</i>	66
<i>Isa. 24. Mic. 4. 3. concerning Christs visible Kingdome discussed.</i>	ibid.
<i>Acts 20. 29. The suppressing of Spirituall wolves discussed.</i>	67
<i>It is in vaine to decline the name of the head of the Church, and yet to practise the headship.</i>	68

Titus 1. 9. 10. <i>discussed.</i>	Page 69
<i>Unmercifull and bloody doctrine.</i>	70
<i>The Spirituall weapons, 2 Cor. 10. 4. discussed.</i>	ibid.
<i>Civill weapons most improper in Spirituall causes.</i>	71
<i>The Spirituall artillerie, Eph. 6. applied.</i>	72
<i>Rom. 13. concerning Civill Rulers power in Spirituall causes, largely examined.</i>	73
<i>Pauls appeale to Cæsar examined.</i>	77
<i>And cleared by 5 arguments.</i>	ibid.
<i>4 Sorts of swords.</i>	79
<i>What is to be understood by evill, Rom. 13. 4.</i>	81
<i>Though evill be alwayes evill, yet the permission of it may sometimes be good.</i>	83
<i>2 Sorts of commands both from Moses and Christ.</i>	84
<i>The permission of divorce in Israel, Mat. 19. 17, 18.</i>	ibid.
<i>Usury in the Civill state lawfully permitted.</i>	85
<i>Seducing teachers, either Pagan, Jewish, Turkish or Antichristian, may yet be obedient subjects to the Civill Laws.</i>	86
<i>Scandalous livers against the Civill state.</i>	87
<i>Toleration of Jefabel and Balaam, Rev. 2. 14, 20. examined.</i>	88
<i>The Christian world hath swallowed up Christianity.</i>	89
<i>Christ Jesus the deepest polititian that ever was, yet commands be a toleration of Antichristians.</i>	91
<i>The Princes of the world seldome take part with Christ Jesus.</i>	93
<i>Buchanans item to King James.</i>	ibid.
<i>King James his sayings against persecution.</i>	ibid.
<i>King Steven of Poland his sayings against persecution.</i>	93
<i>Forcing of conscience a soule rape.</i>	94
<i>Persecution for conscience hath been the launcet which hath let blood the Nations. All Spirituall whores are bloody.</i>	ibid.
<i>Poligamie or the many-wives of the Fathers.</i>	ibid.
<i>David advancing of Gods worship against order.</i>	95

<i>Constantine and the good Emperours confest to have done more hurt to the Name and Crowne of Christ then the bloody Neroes did.</i>	Page 95
<i>The language of persecuters.</i>	96
<i>Christs Lillies may flourish in the Church, notwithstanding the weeds in the world permitted.</i>	97
<i>Queen Elizabeth and King James their persecuting for cause of Religion examined.</i>	ibid.
<i>Queen Elizabeth confessed by Mr. Cotton to have almost fired the world in civill combustions.</i>	98
<i>The Wars between the Papists and the Protestants.</i>	ibid.
<i>The Wars and successe of the Waldensians against three Popes.</i>	99
<i>Gods people victorious overcommers, and with what weapons.</i>	ibid.
<i>The Christian Church doth not persecute, but is persecuted.</i>	ibid.
<i>The nature of excommunication.</i>	100
<i>The opinion of ancient Writers examined concerning the doctrine of persecution.</i>	101
<i>Constraint upon conscience in Old and New England.</i>	ibid.
<i>The Indians of New England permitted in their worshipping of devils,</i>	102
<i>In 2 cases a false Religion will not hurt.</i>	103
<i>The absolute sufficiencie of the Sword of the Spirit.</i>	104
<i>A Nationall Church not instituted by Christ.</i>	ibid.
<i>Man hath no power to make Lawes, to binde conscience.</i>	105
<i>Hearing of the word in a Church estate a part of Gods worship.</i>	107
<i>Papists plea for toleration of conscience.</i>	ibid.
<i>Protestant partiality in the cause of persecution.</i>	108
<i>Pills to purge out the bitter humour of persecution.</i>	ibid.
<i>Superstition and persecution have had many votes and suffrages from Gods owne people.</i>	109
<i>Soul-killing discussed.</i>	ibid.

Phineas his <i>aēt</i> discussed.	Page 111
Elijah his <i>slaughters</i> examined.	ibid.
<i>Dangerous consequences flowing from the civill Magistrates power in Spirituall cases.</i>	114
<i>The world turned upside downe.</i>	114
<i>The wonderfull answer of the Ministers of New England to the Ministers of Old.</i>	ibid.
<i>Lamentable differences even amongst them that feare God.</i>	115
<i>The doctrine of persecution ever drives the most godly out of the world.</i>	116
<i>A Modell of Church and Civill power composed by Mr. Cotton, and the Ministers of New England, and sent to Salem, (as a further confirmation of the bloody doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience) examined and answered.</i>	118
<i>Christs power in the Church confest to be above all Magistrates in Spirituall things.</i>	119
<i>Isa. 49. 23. lamentably wrested.</i>	ibid.
<i>The civill Commonweale, and the Spirituall Commonweale the Church not inconsistent, though independent the one on the other.</i>	120
<i>Christ ordinances put upon a whole city or Nation may civilize them, and moralize, but not Christianize before repentance first wrought.</i>	121
<i>Mr. Cottons and the New English Ministers confession that the Magistrate hath neither Civill nor Spirituall power in Soul matters.</i>	122
<i>The Magistrates and the Church (by Mr. Cottons grounds) in one and the same cause made the Judges on the Bench, and delinquents at the Bar.</i>	123
<i>A demonstrative illustration that the Magistrate cannot have power over the Church in Spirituall or Church causes.</i>	124
<i>The true way of the God of Peace in differences between the Church and the Magistrate.</i>	125

The tearms Godlineſſe and Honesty explained, 1 Tim. 2. 1. and honesty proved not to signifie in that place the righteousnes of the second Table. Page 127

The forcing of men to Gods worship, the greatest breach of civill peace. 129

The Roman Cæsars of Christs time described. ibid.

It pleased not the Lord Jesus in the institution of the Christian Church to appoint and raise up any Civill Governours to take care of his worship. 130

The true custodes utriusque Tabulæ, and keepers of the Ordinances and worship of Jesus Christ. ibid.

The Kings of Ægypt, Moab, Philistia, Assyria, Nineveh, were not charged with the worship of God, as the Kings of Judah were. 131

Masters of families not charged under the Gospel to force all the consciences of their families to worship. 132

Gods people have then shined brightest in Godlines, when they have enjoyed least quietnesse. 134

Few Magistrates, few Men, spirituall good; yet divers sorts of commendable Goodnes beside spirituall. ibid.

Civill power originally and fundamentally in the People. Mr. Cotton and the New English give the power of Christ into the hands of the Commonweale. 137

Lawes concerning Religion, of two sorts. 138

The very Indians abhor to disturbe any Conscience at Worship. 139

Canons and constitutions pretended Civill, but indeed Ecclesiasticall. ibid.

A threefold guilt lying upon Civill powers, commanding the Subjects Soule in Worship. 143

Persons may with lesse sinne be forced to marry whom they cannot love, then to worship where they cannot beleve. ibid.

<i>As the cause, so the weapons of the Beast and the Lambe are infinitely different.</i>	Page 146
<i>Artaxerxes his Decree examined.</i>	147
<i>The summe of the Examples of the Gentile Kings decrees concerning Gods worship in Scripture.</i>	149
<i>The Doctrine of putting to death Blasphemers of Christ, cuts off the hopes of the Jewes partaking in his blood.</i>	181
<i>The direfull effects of fighting for Conscience.</i>	151
<i>Errour is confident as well as Truth.</i>	152
<i>Spirituall prisons.</i>	153
<i>Some Consciences not so easily bealed and cured as men imagine.</i>	154
<i>Persecuters dispute with Hereticks, as a tyrannicall Cat with the poore Mouse: And with a true Witnes, as a roaring Lyon with an innocent Lambe in his paw.</i>	155
<i>Persecuters endure not the name of Persecuters.</i>	156
<i>Psal. 101 concerning cutting off the wicked, examined.</i>	158
<i>No difference of Lands and Countries, since Christ Jesus his comming.</i>	ib.
<i>The New English separate in America, but not in Europe.</i>	159
<i>Christ Jesus forbidding his followers to permit Leaven in the Church, doth not forbid to permit Leaven in the World.</i>	160
<i>The Wall (Cant. 8. 9.) discussed.</i>	161
<i>Every Religion commands its professors to heare only its own Priests or Ministers.</i>	162
<i>Jonah his preaching to the Ninevites discussed.</i>	162
<i>Hearing of the Word discussed.</i>	ibid.
<i>Eglon his rising up to Ehuds message, discussed.</i>	ibid.
<i>A two-fold Ministrie of Christ: First, Apostolicall, properly converting. Secondly, Feeding or Pastorall.</i>	162
<i>The New English forcing the people to Church, and yet not to Religion (as they say) forcing them to be of no Religion all their dayes</i>	163

- The Civill State can no more lawfully compell the Consciences of men to Church to heare the Word, then to receive the Sacraments.* Page 164
- No president in the Word, of any people converting and baptizing themselves.* 166
- True conversion to visible Chriſtianitie, is not only from ſins againſt the ſecond Table, but from falſe Worſhips alſo.* *ibid.*
- The Commiſſion, Mat. 28 diſcuſſed.* 167
- The Civill Magiſtrates not truſted with that Commiſſion.* *ibid.*
- Jehoaſaphat, 2 Chron. 17. a figure of Chriſt Jeſus in his Church, not of the Civill Magiſtrate in the State.* 168
- The maintenance of the Miniſtrie, Gal. 6. 6. examined.* *ibid.*
- Chriſt Jeſus never appointed a maintenance of the Miniſtrie from the impenitent and unbelieving.* 169
- They that compell men to heare, compell them alſo to pay for their hearing and converſion.* *ibid.*
- Luc. 14. Compell them to come in, examined.* *ibid.*
- Naturall men can neither truly worſhip nor mainteine it.* 170
- The Nationall Church of the Jewes might well be forced to a ſetled maintenance: but not ſo the Chriſtian Church.* 171
- The maintenance which Chriſt hath appointed his Miniſtrie in the Church.* 172
- The Univerſities of Europe cauſes of univerſall ſins and plagues: yet Schooles are honourable for tongues and Arts.* 173
- The true Church is Chriſts Schoole, and Believers his Schol-ars.* *ibid.*
- Mr. Ainfworth excellent in the Tongues, yet no Univerſitie man.* 174
- K. Henry the 8. ſet down in the Popes chaire in England.* 175
- Apocrypha, Homilies, and Common Prayer precious to our fore-fathers.* *ib.*
- Reformation proved fallible.* 176

<i>The president of the Kings of Israel & Judah largely examined.</i>	Page 178
<i>The Persian Kings example make strongly against the doctrine of Persecution.</i>	179
1. <i>The difference of the Land of Canaan from all lands and countries, in 7 [8] particulars.</i>	ibid.
2. <i>The difference of the people of Israel from all other peoples, in 7 particulars.</i>	183
<i>Wonderfull turnings of Religion in England in twelve yeares revolution.</i>	185
<i>The Pope not unlike to recover his Monarchy over Europe, before his downfall.</i>	ibid.
<i>Israel Gods only Church might well renew that Nationall Covenant and ceremoniall worship, which other Nations cannot doe.</i>	187
<i>The difference of the Kings and Governours of Israel from all Kings and Governours of the world, in 4 particulars.</i>	188
5 <i>Demonstrative arguments proving the unsoundnesse of the maxime, viz. The Church and Commonweale are like Hypocrites twins.</i>	189
<i>A sacrilegious prostitution of the name Christian.</i>	192
<i>David immediately inspired by God in his ordering of Church affairs.</i>	193
<i>Solomons deposing of Abiathar, 1 Kings 2. 26, 27. discussed.</i>	194
<i>The liberties of Christs Churches in the choice of her officers.</i>	195
<i>A civill influence dangerous to the State liberties.</i>	ibid.
<i>Jehosaphats fast examined.</i>	ibid.
<i>God will not wrong Cæsar, and Cæsar should not wrong God.</i>	196
<i>The famous acts of Josiah examined.</i>	ibid.
<i>Magistracie in generall from God, the particular formes from the people.</i>	ibid.
<i>Israel confirmed in a Nationall Covenant by revelations, signes and miracles, but not so any other Land.</i>	ibid.

- Kings and Nations often plant and often plucke up Relig-
ions.* Page 197
- A Nationall Church ever subjeēt to turne and returne.* ibid.
- A woman, Papiſſa, or head of the Church.* ibid.
- The Papiſts neerer to the truth, concerning the governour of the
Church, then moſt Proteſtants.* 198
- The Kingly power of the Lord Jeſus troubles all the Kings and
Rulers of the World.* ibid.
- A twofold exaltation of Chriſt.* ibid.
- A monarchicall and Miniſteriall power of Chriſt.* 199
- 3 Great competitours for the Miniſteriall power of Chriſt.* ibid.
- The Pope pretendeth to the Miniſteriall power of Chriſt, yet upon
the point chalengeth the Monarchicall alſo.* ibid.
- 3 Great factions in England ſtriving for the Arme of Fleſh.* 200
- The Churches of the ſeparation ought in humanity, and ſubjects
liberty, not to be oppreſſed, but at leaſt permitted.* 201
- 7 Reasons proving that the Kings of Iſrael and Judah can have
no other but a Spirituall Antitype.* 202
- Chriſtianitie addes not to the nature of a Civill Commonweale;
nor doth want of Chriſtianitie diminiſh it.* 203
- Moſt ſtrange, yet moſt true conſequences from the Civill Mag-
iſtrates being the Antitype of the Kings of Iſrael and
Judah.* ibid.
- If no Religion but what the Commonweale approve; then no
Chriſt, no God, but at the pleaſure of the World.* 204
- The true Antitype of the Kings of Iſrael and Judah.* ibid.
- 4. The difference of Iſraels Statutes and Lawes from all others
in 3 particulars.* ibid.
- 5. The difference of Iſraels Punishments & Rewards from all
others.* 205
- Temporall proſperitie moſt proper to the Nationall ſtate of the
Jewe.* ibid.

<i>The Excommunication in Israel.</i>	Page 206
<i>The corporall stoning in the Law typed out spirituall stoning in the Gospel.</i>	ibid.
<i>The wars of Israel typicall and unparalleld, but by the Spirituall wars of Spirituall Israel.</i>	ibid.
<i>The famous typicall captivitie of the Jewes.</i>	207
<i>Their wonderfull victories.</i>	208
<i>The mysticall Army of white troopers.</i>	209
<i>Whether the Civill state of Israel was presidentiall.</i>	ibid.
<i>Great unfaithfulnesse in Magistrates to cast the burthen of judging and establisshing Christianitie upon the Commonweale.</i>	210
<i>Thousands of lawfull Civill Magistrates, who never beare of Jesus Christ.</i>	211
<i>Nero and the persecuting Emperours not so injurious to Christianity, as Constantine and others, who assumed a power in Spirituall things.</i>	ibid.
<i>They who force the conscience of others, cry out of persecution, when their owne are forced.</i>	212
<i>Constantine and others wanted not so much affection, as information of judgement.</i>	ibid.
<i>Civill Authoritie giving and lending their Hornes to Bishops dangerous to Christs truth.</i>	ibid.
<i>The Spirituall power of Christ Iesus, compared in Scripture to the incomparable horne of the Rhinocerot.</i>	213
<i>The nursing Fathers and Mothers, Isa. 49.</i>	ibid.
<i>The civill Magistrate owes 3 things to the true Church of Christ.</i>	214
<i>The civill Magistrate owes 2 things to false Worshippers.</i>	214
<i>The rise of High Commissions.</i>	215
<i>Pious Magistrates & Ministers consciences are perswaded for that, which other as pious Magistrates & Ministers consciences condemn.</i>	215

<i>An apt similitude discussed concerning the Civill Magistrate.</i>	Page 216
<i>A grievous charge against the Christian Church and the King of it.</i>	222
<i>A strange Law in New England formerly against excommunicate persons.</i>	ibid.
<i>A dangerous doctrine against all Civill Magistrates.</i>	223
<i>Originall sin charged to hurt the Civill state.</i>	ibid.
<i>They who give the Magistrate more then his due, are apt to disroabe him of what is his.</i>	224
<i>A strange double picture.</i>	226
<i>The great priviledges of the true Church of Christ.</i>	227
<i>2 Similitudes illustrating the true power of the Magistrate.</i>	ibid.
<i>A marvelous chalenge of more power under the Christian, then under the Heathen Magistrate.</i>	229
<i>Civill Magistrates, derivatives from the fountains or bodies of people.</i>	230
<i>A beleiving Magistrate no more a Magistrate then an unbelieving.</i>	ibid.
<i>The excellencie of Christianity in all callings.</i>	ibid.
<i>The Magistrate like a Pilot in the Ship of the Commonweale.</i>	231
<i>The tearmes Heathen and Christian Magistrates.</i>	ibid.
<i>The unjust and partiall liberty to some consciences and bondage unto all others.</i>	232
<i>The commission Matth. 28. 19, 20. not proper to Pastors and teachers, least of all to the Civill Magistrate.</i>	233
<i>Unto whom now belongs the care of all the Churches, &c.</i>	ibid.
<i>Acts 15. commonly misapplied.</i>	234
<i>The promise of Christs presence Mat. 18. distinct from that Mat. 28.</i>	235
<i>Church administrations firstly charged upon the Ministers thereof.</i>	236

*Queen Elizabeths Bishops truer to their principles then many of
a better spirit and profession.* Page 237

Mr. Barrowes profession concerning Queen Elizabeth. ibid.

*The inventions of men swarving from the true essentials of civill
and Spirituall Commonweales.* 239

*A great question viz. whether only Church members, that is
godly persons in a particular Church estate, be only eligible
into the Magistracie.* ib.

*The world being divided into 30 parts, 25 never heard of
Christ.* 240

Lawfull civill states where Churches of Christ are not. ibid.

*Few Christians Wise and noble and qualified for affaires of
State.* ibid.

SCRIPTURES AND REASONS

written long since by a *Witnesse* of Iesus
Christ, close *Prisoner* in *Newgate*, against *Per-*
secution in cause of *Conscience*; and sent some
while since to Mr. *Cotton*, by a Friend
who thus wrote :

In the multitude of Councillours there is safety :
It is therefore humbly desired to be instru-
cted in this point : viz.

Whether Persecution for cause of Conscience
be not against the Doctrine of Iesus Christ the King of
Kings. The Scriptures and Reasons are these.

BEcause *Christ* commandeth that the *Tares* and 1
Wheat (which some understand are those that
walke in the *Truth*, and those that walke in *Lies*)
should be *let alone* in the *World*, and not *plucked* up
untill the *Harvest*, which is the end of the *World*,
Matth. 13. 30. 38. &c.

The same commandeth *Matth.* 15. 14. that they that 2
are *Blinde* (as some interpret, led on in false *Religion*,
and are offended with him for teaching true *Religion*)
should be *let alone*, referring their punishment unto their
falling into the *Ditch*.

Againe, *Luke* 9. 54, 55. hee reproveth his *Disciples* 3
who would have had *Fire* come downe from Heaven
and devour those *Samaritanes* who would not receive
Him, in these words : Ye know not of what *Spirit* ye

are, the son of Man is not come to destroy *Mens lives*, but to save them.

- 4 *Paul* the Apostle of our Lord teacheth, 2 *Tim.* 24. 2. That the servant of the Lord must not *strive*, but must be *gentle* toward *all Men*, suffering the *Evill Men*, instructing them with *meeknesse* that are contrary minded, proving if *God* at any time will give them *repentance*, that they may acknowledge the *Truth*, and come to *amendment* out of that snare of the *devill*, &c.

- 5 According to these blessed *Commandements*, the holy *Prophets* foretold, [2] that when the *Law* of *Moses* (concerning *Worship*) should cease, and *Christs Kingdome* be established, *Esa.* 2. 4. *Mic.* 4. 3, 4. They shall breake their *Swords* into *Matbookes*, and their *Speares* into *Sithes*. And *Esa.* 11. 9. Then shall none hurt or destroy in all the *Mountaine* of my *Holineffe*, &c. And when he came, the same he *taught* and *practised*, as before: so did his *Disciples* after him, for the *Weapons* of his *Warfare* are not *carnall* (saith the Apostle) 2 *Cor.* 10. 4.

But he chargeth straitly that his *Disciples* should be so far from persecuting those that would not bee of their Religion, that when they were *persecuted* they should *pray* (*Matth.* 5.) when they were *curst* they should *blesse*, &c.

And the Reason seemes to bee, because they who now are *Tares*, may hereafter become *Wheat*; they who are now *blinde*, may hereafter *see*; they that now *resist* him, may hereafter *receive* him; they that are now in the *devils snare*, in *adversenesse* to the *Truth*, may hereafter come to *repentance*; they that are now *blasphemers* and *persecutors* (as *Paul* was) may in time become *faithfull* as he; they that are now *idolators* as the *Corinths* once

were (1 Cor. 6. 9.) may hereafter become *true worshippers* as they; they that are now *no people of God*, nor under *mercy* (as the Saints sometimes were, 1 Pet. 2. 20.) may hereafter become the people of *God*, and obtaine *mercy*, as they.

Some come not till the 11. houre, *Matth.* 20. 6. if those that come not till the *last houre* should be *destroyed*, because they come not at the *first*, then should they never come but be prevented.

All which *premises* are in all humility referred to your godly wife *consideration*.

Because this *persecution* for cause of *conscience* is against II.
the *profession* and *practice* of *famous Princes*.

First, you may please to consider the speech of King *James*, in his *Majesties Speech* at *Parliament*, 1609.¹ He saith, it is a sure *Rule* in *divinity*, that God never loves to plant his *Church* by *violence* and *bloodshed*.

And in his *Highbesse Apologie*, pag. 4. [2] speaking of such *Papists* that tooke the Oath, thus:¹

“I gave good prooffe that I intended no *persecution*
“against them for *conscience* cause, but onely desired to
“bee secured for *civill obedience*, which for *conscience*
“cause they are bound to performe.

And pag. 60. [22] speaking of *Blackwell*² (the *Arch-*

¹ *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince James*. Published by James, Bishop of Winton, &c. London, 1616, p. 544. do. p. 248.

² George Blackwell, a Roman Catholic divine, was commissioned to act as arch-priest over the secular clergy in England by Cardinal Cajetan, March 7, 1598, in order to meet some of the difficulties arising from the lack of a Romish episcopate, and was confirmed and approved

by a bull from Pope Clement VIII, April 6, 1599. He took the oath of allegiance enacted in consequence of the Gunpowder Plot, and openly expressed his approbation of it, though Paul V. had condemned it. His superiors at Rome could not endure his attempts to induce Roman Catholics to take the oath, and he was superseded in 1508. Rose, Biog. Dict., IV; Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, ii: 122.

priest) his *Majesty* faith,¹ "It was never my intention to lay any thing to the said *Arch-Priests* charge (as I have never done to any) for *cause of conscience*. And in his *Highbesse Exposition* on *Revel.* 20. printed 1588. and after [in] 1603. his *Majesty* writeth thus:² "Sixthly, "the compassing of the *Saints* [3] and the *besieging* of "the *beloved City*, declareth unto us a certaine *note* of a "false *Church*, to be *Persecution*, for they come to seeke "the *faithfull*, the *faithfull* are them that are fought: "the *wicked* are the *besiegers*, the *faithfull* are the "*besieged*.

Secondly, the saying of *Stephen King* of *Poland*:³ "I am *King* of *Men*, not of *Consciences*, a Commander of "*Bodies*, not of *Soules*.

Thirdly, the *King* of *Bohemia* hath thus written :

"And notwithstanding the successe of the later times "(wherein sundry *opinions* have beene hatched about the "subject of *Religion*) may make one clearly discern "with his *eye*, and as it were to touch with his *Finger*, "that according to the veritie of *Holy Scriptures*, and a "*Maxime* heretofore told and maintained, by the ancient "Doctors of the *Church*; That *mens consciences* ought "in no sort to bee *violated*, *urged*, or *constrained*; and "whensoever men have attempted any thing by this "*violent course*, whether openly or by *secret meanes*, the "*issue* hath beene *pernicious*, and the cause of great

¹ *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince James*, p. 268.

² *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince James*, p. 79.

³ Stephen Bathori was King of Poland 1575-1586. Though a convert to the Roman Church he used no intolerance towards his Protestant subjects. He said,

"I reign over persons; but it is God who rules the conscience. Know that God has reserved three things to himself; the creation of something out of nothing, the knowledge of futurity, and the government of the conscience." *Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia*, Poland, p. 167.

“and wonderfull *Innovations* in the principallest and
“mightiest *Kingdomes* and *Countries* of all Christen-
“dome.

And further his *Majesty* faith: “So that once more
“we doe professe before *God* and the *whole World*, that
“from this time forward wee are firmly resolved not to
“*persecute* or *molest*, or suffer to be *persecuted* or *molested*,
“any person whosoever for *matter of Religion*, no not
“they that professe *themselves* to be of the *Romish Church*,
“neither to trouble or disturbe them in the exercise of
“their *Religion*, so they live conformable to the *Lawes*
“of the *States*, &c.¹

And for the practice of this, where is *persecution* for
cause of *conscience* except in *England* and where *Popery*
reignes, [?] and there neither in all places, as appeareth
by *France*, *Poland*, and other places.

Nay, it is not practised amongst the *Heathen* that
acknowledge not the *true God*, as the *Turke*, *Persian*,
and others.

Thirdly, because *persecution* for cause of conscience³ *Rea.*
is condemned by the ancient and later *Writers*, yea and
Papists themselves.

¹ This paragraph, quoted also in the
Addresse to Parliament, p. 7, is from the
manifesto issued by the Elector Palatine,
Frederick the Fifth, who had been
elected King of Bohemia against Ferdi-
nand the Second, Archduke of Austria
and Emperor of Germany, at the begin-
ning of the Thirty Years War. Schiller,
Thirty Years War, Book I. James the
First, whose daughter he married, was
entirely opposed to his taking the crown,
and refused to recognise him. Hume,
History of England, Chap. 48. It was

in the same year (1620) in which he
was defeated that this “Humble Suppli-
cation” from which these “Scriptures
and Reasons” are taken was printed.
The Commons had boldly declared their
sympathy with his misfortunes, and so
circumstances gave significance to opin-
ions uttered by one who was considered
a representative of the Protestant cause,
and which were so much in advance of
those of James. Brandt, *The History of
the Reformation in and about the Low
Countries*, iv: lib. 52, p. 200.

Hilarie against *Auxentius'* faith thus: The *Christian Church* doth not *persecute*, but is *persecuted*. And lamentable it is to see the great folly of these times, and to sigh at the foolish opinion of this world, in that men thinke by humane aide to helpe *God*, and with worldly pompe and power to undertake to defend the *Christian Church*. I aske you *Bishops*, what helpe used the *Apostles* in the publishing of the *Gospel*? with the aid of what power did they preach *Christ*, and converted the *Heathen* from their *idolatry* to *God*? When they were in *prisons*, and lay in *chaines*, did they praise and give thanks to *God* for any *dignities*, *graces*, [4] and *favours* received from the *Court*? Or do you thinke that *Paul* went about with *Regall Mandates*, or *Kingly authority*, to gather and establish the *Church of Christ*? fought he *protection* from *Nero*, *Vespasian*?

The *Apostles* wrought with their *hands* for their owne *maintenance*, travailing by *land* and *water* from *Towne* to *Citie*, to preach *Christ*: yea the more they were *forbidden*, the more they *taught* and preached *Christ*. But now alas, *humane helpe* must *assist* and *protect* the *Faith*, and give the same countenance to and by vaine and *worldly honours*.² Doe men seek to defend the *Church of Christ*? as if hee by his power were unable to performe it.

The same against the *Arrians*.¹

The *Church* now, which formerly by induring *misery* and *imprisonment* was knowne to be a *true Church*, doth

¹ S. Hilarii Opera, Lib. I, Contra Arianos vel Auxentium, Cap. 3, 4, pp. 465, 466; Venetiis, 1749.

² This sentence may be read with a period after "countenance," the remain-

ing words being connected with the following interrogation: or by changing the order of the words, thus, "and give countenance to the same by vaine and worldly honours."

now terrifie others by *imprisonment*, *banishment*, and *mifery*, and boasteth that she is highly esteemed of the *world*, when as the true *Church* [she] cannot but be hated of the same.

Tertull. ad Scapulam:¹ It agreeth both with *humane reason*, and *naturall equity*, that every man *worship* God uncompelled, and beleeve what he will; for it neither hurteth nor profiteth any one another mans *Religion* and *Beleeve*: Neither beseemeth it any *Religion* to compell another to be of their *Religion*, which willingly and freely should be imbraced, and not by constraint: for as much as the *offerings* were required of those that freely and with good will offered, and not from the *contrary*.

Jerom. in præm. lib. 4. in Jeremiam.² *Herésie* must be cut off with the *Sword* of the *Spirit*: let us strike through with the *Arrowes* of the *Spirit* all *Sonnes* and *Disciples* of mis-led *Heretickes*, that is, with *Testimonies* of holy *Scriptures*. The slaughter of *Heretickes* is by the word of God.

*Brentius*³ upon 1 *Cor. 3*. No man hath power to make or give Lawes to *Christians*, whereby to binde their *consciencences*; for willingly, freely, and uncompelled, with a ready desire and cheerfull minde, must those that come, run unto *Christ*.

Luther in his Booke of the *Civill Magistrate*⁴ saith;

¹ Tertulliani Opera, Tom. 1, Cap. 2, p. 152, Antverpiæ, 1583; Lib'ry of Fathers, Tertullian, i: 143, Oxford, 1842.

² S. Hieronymi Opera, in præmium lib. 4, in Jeremiam, pp. 615-616, Parisiis, 1704. Only the first member of this sentence is found in the place cited. "*Quod si cavendum nobis est, ne veterem lædere videamur necessitudinem, si superbissimam*

hæresim spiritali mucrone truncemus."

³ The works of Brentius, 8 vols. folio, Tübingen, 1575-1590, are not within the Editor's reach, nor on the catalogues of any of the public libraries of the country, so far as examined.

⁴ Luther's Sämtliche Schriften, herausgegeben J. G. Walch, 10^e Theil, 452. Halle. 1744.

The *Lawes* of the *Civill Magistrates* government extends no further then over the *body* or *goods*, and to that which is *externall*: for over the *soule* God will not suffer any man to *rule*: onely he *himselfe* will rule there. Wherefore whosoever doth undertake to give *Lawes* unto the *Soules* and *Consciences* of Men, he usurpeth that *government* himselfe which appertaineth unto *God*, &c.

Therefore upon 1 *Kings* 5.¹ In the building of the *Temple* there was no *sound* of *Iron* heard, to signifie that *Christ* will have in his *Church* a *free* and a *willing* People, not compelled and constrained by *Lawes* and *Statutes*.

5] Againe he saith upon *Luk.* 22.² It is not the true *Catholike Church*, which is defended by the *Secular Arme* or humane Power, but the *false* and *feigned Church*, which although it carries the *Name* of a *Church* yet it denies the power thereof.

And upon *Psal.* 17.³ he saith: For the true *Church* of *Christ* knoweth not *Brachium sæculare*, which the *Bishops* now adayes, chiefly use.

Againe, in *Postil. Dom.* 1. *post Epiphan.*⁴ he saith: Let not *Christians* be *commanded*, but *exhorted*: for, He that willingly will not doe that, whereunto he is friendly exhorted, he is no *Christian*: wherefore they that doe compell those that are not willing, shew thereby that they are not *Christian Preachers*, but *Worldly Beadles*.

Againe, upon 1 *Pet.* 3.⁵ [ii: 17] he saith: If the

¹ Schriften, x: 438.

² Schriften, xiii: 2818. Auslegung des Evangelii am Bartholomews Tag, Luke xxii: 24-30. "God will keep and govern his Church only by his Word, and not by human power." It may be that the reference is to some other passage.

³ This passage is not found in his ex-

planation of the 117th Psalm, Theil 4^r, 1261.

⁴ Schriften, xii: 429. Auslegung der Epistel am ersten Sonntage nach Epiphania.

⁵ Schriften, ix: 740. Auslegung der ersten Ep. Petri, cap. 2, v. 17.

Civill Magistrate shall command me to believe thus and thus: I should answer him after this manner: *Lord*, or *Sir*, Looke you to your *Civill* or *Worldly Government*, Your Power extends not so farre as to command any thing in *Gods Kingdome*: Therefore herein I may not heare you. For if you cannot beare it, that any should usurpe *Authoritie* where you have to Command, how doe you thinke that *God* should suffer you to thrust him from his Seat, and to seat your selfe therein?

Lastly, the Papists, the *Inventors of Persecution*, in a wicked Booke of theirs set forth in *K. James* his *Reigne*, thus:

Moreover, the *Meanes* which *Almighty God* appointed his Officers to use in the Conversion of *Kingdomes* and *Nations*, and People, was *Humilitie*, *Patience*, *Charitie*; saying, Behold I send you as *Sheepe* in the midst of *Wolves*, Mat. 10. 16. He did not say, Behold I send you as *Wolves* among *Sheepe*, to kill, imprison, spoile and devoure those unto whom they were sent.

Againe *vers.* 7. he saith: They to whom I send you, will deliver you up into *Councells*, and in their *Synagogues* they will scourge you; and to *Presidents* and to *Kings* shall you be led for my sake. He doth not say: You whom I send, shall deliver the people (whom you ought to convert) unto *Councells*, and put them in Prisons, and lead them to *Presidents*, and *Tribunall Seates*, and make their *Religion Felony* and *Treason*.

Againe he saith, *vers.* 32. When ye enter into an House, salute it, saying, Peace be unto this House: he doth not say, You shall send *Pursevants* to ransack or spoile his House.

Againe he said, *John* 10. The good *Pastour* giveth

his life for his Sheep, the *Thiefe* commeth not but to steale, kill and destroy. He doth not say, The *Theefe* giveth his life for his Sheep, and the Good *Pastour* 6] commeth not but to steale, kill and destroy.

So that we holding our peace, our *Adversaries* themselves speake for us, or rather for the Truth.

To answer some maine *Objections*.

And first, that it is no *prejudice* to the *Common wealth*, if *Libertie of Conscience* were suffred to such as doe feare *God* indeed, as is or will be manifest in such mens lives and conversations.

Abraham abode among the *Canaanites* a long time, yet contrary to them in *Religion*, Gen. 13. 7. & 16. 13. Againe he sojourned in *Gerar*, and K. *Abimelech* gave him leave to abide in his Land, Gen. 20. 21. 23. 24. [xx, xxi: 33. 34.]

Isaack also dwelt in the same Land, yet contrary in *Religion*, Gen. 26.

Jacob lived 20 yeares in one House with his Unkle *Laban*, yet differed in *Religion*, Gen. 31.

The people of *Israel* were about 430 yeares in that infamous land of *Egypt*, and afterwards 70 yeares in *Babylon*, all which time they differed in *Religion* from the States, *Exod.* 12. & 2 *Chron.* 36.

Come to the time of *Christ*, where *Israel* was under the *Romanes*, where lived divers Sects of *Religion*, as *Herodians*, *Scribes* and *Pharises*, *Saduces* and *Libertines*, *Thudæans* and *Samaritanes*, beside the Common *Religion* of the *Jewes*, *Christ* and his *Apostles*. All which differed from the Common *Religion* of the State, which

was like the Worship of *Diana*, which almost the whole world then worshipped, *Acts* 19. 20. [27.]

All these lived under the Government of *Cæsar*, being nothing hurtfull unto the *Common-wealth*, giving unto *Cæsar* that which was his. And for their *Religion* and Consciences towards God, he left them to themselves, as having no Dominion over their *Soules* and *Consciences*. And when the Enemies of the Truth raised up any *Tumults*, the wisdom of the *Magistrate* most wisely appeased them, *Acts* 18 14. & 19. 35.

THE ANSWER OF Mr. IOHN

COTTON of *Boston* in *New-England*,

To the aforefaid ARGUMENTS againſt

Perſecution for *Cauſe of Conſcience*.

Professedly mainteining *Perſecution* for
Cauſe of Conſcience.

THE *Queſtion* which you put, is, Whether *Perſecution* for cauſe of *Conſcience*, be not againſt the *Doctrine* of *Jeſus Chriſt* the *King of Kings*.

Now by *Perſecution* for *Cauſe of Conſcience*, I conceive you meane, either for profeſſing ſome point of *Doctrine* which you believe in *Conſcience* to be the Truth, or for praſtiſing ſome *Worke* which in *Conſcience* you believe to be a *Religious Duty*.

Now in *Points of Doctrine* ſome are *fundamentall*, without right beliefe whereof a Man cannot be *ſaved*: Others are *circumſtantiall* or leſſe principall, wherein Men may differ in judgement, without prejudice of *ſalvation* on either part.

In like fort, in *Points of Practice*, ſome concerne the waightier Duties of the *Law*, as, What *God* we worſhip, and with what kinde of *Worſhip*; whether ſuch, as if it be *Right*, fellowſhip with *God* is held; if *Corrupt*, fellowſhip with Him is loſt.

Again, in *Points of Doctrine* and *Worſhip* leſſe Principall: either they are held forth in a meeke and *peaceable* way, though the Things be *Erroneous* or unlawfull:

Or they are held forth with such *Arrogance* and *Impetuousnesse*, as tendeth and reacheth (even of it selfe) to the disturbance of *Civill Peace*.

Finally, let me adde this one distinction more: When we are persecuted for *Conscience* sake, It is either for *Conscience* rightly informed, or for erronious and blind *Conscience*.

These things premised, I would lay down mine

Answer to the Question in certaine *Conclusions*.

1. First, it is not not lawfull to persecute any for *Conscience* sake *Rightly informed*; for in *persecuting* such, *Christ* himselfe is persecuted in them, *Acts* 9. 4.
2. Secondly, for an *Erronious* and *blind Conscience*, (even in fundamentall [8] and weighty Points) It is not lawfull to persecute any, till after *Admonition* once or twice: and so the Apostle directeth, *Tit.* 3. 10. and giveth the Reason, that in *fundamentall* and principall points of Doctrine or Worship, the Word of *God* in such things is so cleare, that hee cannot but bee convinced in *Conscience* of the dangerous Errour of his way, after once or twice *Admonition*, wisely and faithfully dispensed. And then if any one persist, it is not out of *Conscience*, but against *his Conscience*, at the Apostle saith, *vers.* 11. He is subverted and sinneth, being condemned of Himselfe, that is, of his owne *Conscience*. So that if such a Man after such *Admonition* shall still *persist* in the Errour of his way, and be therefore punished; He is not *persecuted* for Cause of *Conscience*, but for sinning against his Owne *Conscience*.
3. Thirdly, In things of lesser *moment*, whether Points of *Doctrine* or *Worship*, If a man hold them forth in a Spirit of Christian *Meeknesse* and *Love* (though with

Zeale and *Conſtancie*) he is not to be *perſecuted*, but *tolerated*, till *God* may be pleaſed to manifeſt his Truth to him, *Phil.* 3. 17. *Rom.* 14. 1, 2, 3, 4.

But if a Man hold forth or profeſſe any *Errour* or falſe way, with a *boyſterous* and *arrogant* ſpirit, to the diſturbance of *Civill peace*, he may juſtly be puniſhed according to the qualitie and meaſure of the *diſturbance* cauſed by him. 4.

Now let us conſider of your *Reaſons* or *Objections* to the contrary.

Your firſt head of *Objections* is taken from the *Scripture*.

Object. 1. Becauſe Chriſt commandeth to let alone the *Tares* and *Wheat* to grow together unto the *Harveſt*, *Mat.* 13. 30. 38.

Anſw. *Tares* are not *Briars* and *Thornes*, but partly *Hypocrites*, like unto the *Godly*, but indeed *Carnall*, as the *Tares* are like to *Wheat*, but are not *Wheat*. Or partly ſuch *Corrupt Doctrines* or *Practices* as are indeed unſound, but yet ſuch as come very neere the Truth, (as *Tares* doe to the *Wheat*) and ſo neere, that Good men may be taken with them, and ſo the Perſons in whom they grow, cannot be rooted out, but good will be rooted up with them. And in ſuch a caſe *Chriſt* calleth for *Toleration*, not for *penall proſecution*, according to the 3. Concluſion.

Object. 2. In *Matth.* 15. 14. *Chriſt* commandeth his Diſciples to let the *Blind* alone till they fall into the *ditch*; therefore he would have their puniſhment deferred till their finall *deſtruction*.

Anſw. He there ſpeaketh not to *publique officers*, whether in *Church* or *Common-weale*, but to his private

Disciples, concerning the *Pharises*, over whom they had had no power. And the Command he giveth to let [9] them alone, is spoken in regard of troubling themselves or regarding the offence, which they tooke at the wholesome *Doctrine* of the *Gospell*: As who should say, Though they be offended at this Saying of mine, yet doe not you feare their *Feare*, nor bee troubled at their offence, which they take at my *Doctrine*, not out of sound Judgement, but out of their *Blindnesse*. But this maketh nothing to the Cause in hand.

Ob. In *Luk.* 9. 54 55. *Christ* reproveth his *Disciples*, who would have had fire come downe from *Heaven* to consume the *Samaritanes*, who refused to receive Him.

Obj. And *Paul* teacheth *Timothy*, not to strive, but to be gentle towards All men, suffering evill patiently.

Ans. Both these are *Directions* to *Ministers* of the *Gospell* how to deale (not with *obstinate offenders* in the *Church*, that sinne against Conscience, but) either with Men without, as the *Samaritanes* were, and many unconverted *Christians* in *Crete*, whom *Titus* (as an *Evangelist*) was to seeke to convert: Or at best with some *Jewes* or *Gentiles* in the *Church*, who though carnall, yet were not convinced of the error of their Way: And 'tis true, it became not the Spirit of the *Gospell* to convert Aliens to the Faith of *Christ* (such as the *Samaritanes* were) by *Fire* and *Brimstone*; nor to deale harshly in publique Ministrie or private Conference with all such contrary minded men, as either had not yet entred into *Church-Fellowship*, or if they had, yet did hitherto sinne of *Ignorance*, not against *Conscience*.

But neither of both these Texts doe hinder the Ministers of the *Gospell* to proceed in a Church-way against

Church-members, when they become *Scandalous offenders*, either in *Life* or *Doctrin*: much lesse doe they speake at all to *Civill Magistrates*.

Ob. 5. From the *prediction* of the *Prophets*, who foretold that *Carnall Weapons* should cease in the dayes of the *Gospell*, Isa. 2. 4. & 11. 9. Mic. 4. 3. 4. And the *Apostle* professeth, The weapons of our *Warfare* are not *carnall*, 2 Cor. 10. 4. And *Christ* is so farre from persecuting those that would not be of his *Religion*, that he chargeth them, when they are persecuted themselves, they should *pray*, and when they are *curst* they should *blesse*. The reason whereof seemeth to be, that they who are now *Persecuters* and wicked persons, may become true *Disciples* and *Converts*.

Ans. Those *predictions* in the *Prophets* doe onely shew, First, with what kind of *Weapons* he will subdue the *Nations* to the Obedience of the Faith of the *Gospell*, not by *Fire* and *Sword*, and *Weapons* of Warre, 10] but by the Power of his *Word* and Spirit, which no man doubteth of.

Secondly, those *predictions* of the *Prophets* shew what the meeke and peaceable *temper* will be of all the true *Converts* to *Christianity*, not *Lions* or *Leopards*, &c. not cruell *oppressors*, nor malignant *opposers*, or *biters* of one another. But doth not forbid them to drive ravenous *Wolves* from the *sheepfold*, and to restraine them from devouring the *Sheepe* of *Christ*.

And when *Paul* saith, The weapons of our *warfare* are not *carnall* but *spirituall*, he denyeth not *civill weapons* of *Justice* to the *Civill Magistrate*, Rom. 13. but onely to *Church officers*. And yet the weapons of such officers he acknowledgeth to be such, as though they

be *spirituall*, yet are ready to take *vengeance* of all *disobedience*, 2 *Cor.* 10. 6. which hath reference (amongst other Ordinances) to the censure of the *Church* against *scandalous offenders*.

3. When *Christ* commandeth his *Disciples* to blesse them that curse them and persecute them, he giveth not therein a rule to *publick officers*, whether in *Church* or *Commonweale*, to suffer notorious sinners, either in *life* or *doctrine*, to passe away with a *blessing*: But to private *Christians* to suffer *persecution* patiently, yea and to pray for their *persecutors*.

Againe, it is true, *Christ* would have his *Disciples* to bee farre from persecuting (for that is a *sinfull oppression* of Men for *righteousnesse* sake) but that hindreth not but that he would have them execute upon all *disobedience* the *judgement* and *vengeance* required in the Word, 2 *Cor.* 10. 6. *Rom.* 13. 4.

4. Though it be true that wicked persons now may by the grace of *God* become true *Disciples* and *Converts*, yet we may not doe evill that good may come thereof: And evill it would bee to tolerate notorious evill doers, whether *seducing teachers* or *scandalous livers*. *Christ* had something against the *Angel* of the *Church* of *Per-gamus* for tolerating them that held the *doctrine* of *Balaam*, and against the *Church* of *Thiatira* for tolerating *Jesabel* to teach and seduce, *Rev.* 2. 14. 20.

Your second Head of *Reasons* is taken from the *profession* and *practice* of famous *Princes*, King *James*, *Stephen* of *Poland*, King of *Bobemia*.

Whereunto a treble answer may briefly be returned.

First, we willingly acknowledge, that none is to be persecuted at all, no more then they may be oppressed for *righteousnesse* sake.

Againe, we acknowledge that none is to be punished for his *conscience*, though mis-informed, as hath been said, unlesse his *errour* be *fundamentall*, [11] or seditiously and turbulently promoted, and that after due conviction of his *conscience*, that it may appeare he is not punished *for his conscience*, but for sinning *against his conscience*.

Furthermore, we acknowledge none is to be *constrained* to beleieve or professe the true *Religion* till he be convinced in judgement of the *truth* of it: but yet restrained he may [be] from blaspheming the *truth*, and from seducing any unto pernicious errors.

2. Wee answer, what *Princes* professe or practise, is not a rule of *conscience*: they many times tolerate that in point of *State policy*, which cannot justly be tolerated in point of true *Christianity*.

Againe, *Princes* many times tolerate offendours out of very *necessity*, when the offenders are either too many, or too mighty for them to punish, in which respect *David* tolerated *Joab* and his *murthers*, but *against his will*.

3. We answer further, that for those three *Princes* named by you, who tolerated *Religion*, we can name you more and greater who have not tolerated *Heretickes* and *Schismatickes*, notwithstanding their pretence of *conscience*, and arrogating the Crowne of *Martyrdome* to their sufferings.

Constantine the Great at the request of the Generall Councell of *Nice*, banished *Arrius* with some of his fellowes. *Sozom. lib. 1. Eccles. Hist. cap. 19. 20.*¹ The

¹ Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. vii, p. 387, Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxi, p. London, 1677; Sozomen, *Ecc. History*, 317, London, 1835; Stanley, *Eastern* Bagster, London, 1846, pp. 37, 38; *Church*, Lecture iv, p. 240, Am. Ed.

same *Constantine* made a severe Law against the *Donatists*.¹ And the like proceedings against them were used by *Valentinian*, *Gratian*, and *Theodosius*, as *Augustine* reporteth in *Epist.* 166.² Only *Julian* the *Apostate* granted liberty to *Heretickes* as well as to *Pagans*, that he might by tolerating all *weeds* to grow, choake the vitals of *Christianity*,³ which was also the practice and sin of *Valens* the *Arrian*.

Queene *Elizabeth*, as famous for her government as any of the former, it is well knowne what Lawes she made and executed against *Papists*. Yea and King *James* (one of your own witnessses) though he was slow in proceeding against *Papists* (as you say) for conscience sake, yet you are not ignorant how sharply and severely he punished those whom the malignant world calleth *Puritanes*, men of more conscience and better faith then he tolerated.

I come now to your third and last argument, taken from the judgement of ancient and later *Writers*, yea even of *Papists* themselves, who have condemned *persecution* for conscience sake.

You begin with *Hilary*, whose testimony we might admit without any prejudice to the truth: for it is true, the Christian *Church* doth not [12] persecute, but is persecuted. But to excommunicate an *Hereticke*, is not

¹ Eusebii Pamphili, *Eccles. Hist.*, De Vita Constantini, lib. ii, cap. 66. This however he repealed. "In a rescript addressed to the Vicar Verinus, in North Africa, he granted to the Donatists full liberty to act according to their own convictions, declaring that this was a matter which belonged to the judgment of God." Neander, *Church History*, Tor-

rey's Translation, ii, 193.

² S. Aug. Opera, tom. ii, (105) Ad Donatistas, pp. 299, 300, Parisiis, 1679.

³ Neander, *The Emperor Julian and his Generation*, tr. by Cox, Sect. IV, p. 122.

"Julian gave all parties among the Christians equal liberty, with the hope that by their mutual contentions they would destroy one another."

to persecute; that is, it is not to punish an innocent, but a culpable and damnable person, and that not for *conscience*, but for persisting in *errour* against light of *conscience*, whereof it hath beene convinced.

It is true also what he saith, that neither the *Apostles* did, nor may we propagate [the] *Christian Religion* by the Sword: but if *Pagans* cannot be won by the *Word*, they are not to be compelled by the *Sword*. Neverthelesse this hindreth not, but if they or any others should *blaspheme* the true *God*, and his true *Religion*, they ought to be severely punished; and no lesse doe they deserve, if they *seduce* from the truth to damnable *Herésie* or *Idolatry*.

Your next Writer (which is *Tertullian*) speaketh to the same purpose in the place alledged by you. His intent is onely to restraints *Scapula* the *Romane Governour* of *Africa* from the *persecution* of *Christians*, for not offering sacrifice to their *gods*: And for that end fetcheth an argument from the Law of *Naturall Equity*, not to compell any to any *Religion*, but to permit them either to beleieve willingly, or not to beleieve at all. Which wee acknowledge, and accordingly permit the *Indians* to continue in their *unbeleefe*. Neverthelesse it will not therefore be lawfull openly to tolerate *the worship of devils* or *Idols*, or the *seduction* of any from the *truth*.

When *Tertullian* saith, Another mans *Religion* neither hurteth nor profiteth any; it must be understood of *private worship* and *Religion* professed in private: otherwise a false *Religion* professed by the Members of a *Church*, or by such as have given their *Names* to *Christ*, will be the *ruine* and *desolation* of the *Church*, as

appeareth by the threats of Christ to the *Churches of Asia*, *Revel.* 2.

Your next Authour *Hierom* crosseth not the *truth*, nor advantageth not your *cause*: for we grant what he saith, that *Heresie* must bee cut off with the Sword of the *Spirit*. But this hindreth not, but that being so cut downe, if the *Hereticke* still persist in his *Heresie*, to the *seduction* of others, he may be cut off by the *civill sword*, to prevent the *perdition* of others. And that to bee *Hieromes* meaning appeareth by his note upon that of the Apostle, [A little *Leaven* leaveneth the whole *lumpe*] therefore (saith he)¹ a *sparke* as soone as it appeareth, is to be extinguished, and the *Leaven* to be removed from the rest of the *dough*, rotten *peeces* of flesh are to be cut off, and a *scabbed beast* is to be driven from the sheep-fold: lest the *whole house*, *masse* of *dough*, *body* and *flocke*, be set on fire with the *sparke*, bee fowed with the *Leaven*, be putrified with the [13] *rotten flesh*, perish by the *scabbed beast*.

Brentius (whom you next quote) speaketh not to your *Cause*. We willingly grant him and you, that Man hath no power to make *Lawes*, to bind *Conscience*. But this hindreth not, but that Men may see the *Lawes* of *God* observed, which doe bind *Conscience*.

The like Answer may be returned to *Luther*, whom you next alleadge. First, that the *Government* of the *Civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then over the *Bodies* and *Goods* of their Subjects, not over their *Soules*: And therefore they may not undertake to give *Lawes* to the *Soules* and *Consciences* of Men.

Secondly, that the *Church of Christ* doth not use the

¹ S. Hieronymi Opera, tom. iv, 291, Parisiis, 1706.

Arme of *Secular Power* to compell men to the *Faith*, or profession of the *Truth*; for this is to be done by *Spirituall weapons*, whereby *Christians* are to be *exhort*ed, not *compell*ed.

But this hindreth not that *Christians* sinning against *light* of *Faith* and *Conscience*, may justly be censured by the *Church* with *Excommunication*, and by the *Civill Sword* also, in case they shall corrupt others to the perdition of their *Soules*.

As for the *Testimony* of the *Popish Book*, we weigh it not, as knowing (whatsoever they speake for *Toleration of Religion*, where themselves are under *Hatches*) when they come to sit at *Sterne*, they judge and practise quite contrary, as both their *Writings* and *Judiciall proceedings* have testified to the World these many yeares.

To shut up this Argument from *Testimonie* of *Writers*. It is well known, *Augustine* retracted this Opinion of yours, which in his younger times he had held, but in after *riper age* reversed and refuted, as appeareth in the second Book of his *Retractions*, chap. 5. and in his Epistles 48. 50. And in his 1. Book against *Parmenianus*, cap. 7. he sheweth, that if the *Donatists* were punished with death, they were justly punished. And in his 11 Tractate upon *John*, They murther, saith he, *Soules*, and themselves are afflicted in *Body*: They put men to *everlasting death*, and yet they complaine when themselves are put to suffer *temporall death*.¹

¹ S. Aug. Opera, Retractionum lib. ii, cap. v, tom. i, p. 43, Eps. 93, 185. Ad Vincentium and De Correctione Donatistarum, tom. ii, 230, 643. Contra Epistolam Parmeniani, lib. i, cap. 8, tom. ix, 19. In Johannis Evang. cap. 2,

Tr. xi, 15, tom. iii, pars. 2, 383. This change of opinion in St. Augustine in regard to the employment of force in religion is well presented by Neander, *Church History*, ii, 214-217. "It was by Augustine, then, that a theory was

Optatus in his 3. book,¹ justifieth *Maccharius*, who had put some *Hereticks* to death; that he had done no more herein then what *Moses*, *Phineas*, and *Elias* had done before him.

Bernard in his 66 Sermon in *Cantica*:² Out of doubt (saith he) it is better that they should be restrained by the Sword of Him, who beareth not the Sword in vaine, then that they should be suffered to draw many [14] others into their *Errour*. For he is the *Minister of God* for *Wrath* to every evill doer.

Calvins judgement is well knowne, who procured the death of *Michael Servetus* for pertinacie in *Hereſie*, and defended his fact by a Book written of that Argument.³

Beza also wrote a Booke de *Hæreticis Morte plectendis*, that *Hereticks* are to be punished with *Death*.⁴ *Aretius* likewise tooke the like course about the Death of *Valentinus Gentilis*, and justified the Magistrates proceeding against him, in an History written of that Argument.⁵

propoſed and founded, which tempered though it was, in its practical application, by his own pious, philanthropic ſpirit, nevertheleſs contained the germ of that whole ſyſtem of ſpiritual deſpotiſm, of intolerance and perſecution, which ended in the tribunals of the inquiſition."

¹ S. Optati Opera, p. 75, Pariſiis, 1679.

² S. Bernardi Opera, i, tom. 4, p. 1499, Pariſiis, 1680.

³ Calvini Opera, tom. viii, p. 510, Amſterdam, 1667.

⁴ Beza Tract. Theol. tom. 1, p. 85, edit. 1582. (Underhill.) *De Hæreticis a Civili Magiſtratu Puniendis*, Opuscula, p. 85, Geneva, 1658.

⁵ Valentini gentilis juſto capitis (an.

1566) ſupplicio Bernæ affecti brevis hiſtoria, etc. Génève, 1567.

A Short History of Valentinus Gentilis the Tritbeiß. Tried, condemned and put to Death by the Protestant Reformed City and Church of Bern in Switzerland, for aſſerting the Three Divine Perſons of the Trinity to be Three Diſtinct, Eternal Spirits, &c. Wrote in Latin by Benedictus Aretius, a Divine of that Church: and now tranſlated into Engliſh for the uſe of Dr. Sherlock. London, 1696.

For an account of Gentilis ſee Bayle's *Dictionary*, iii, p. 153, art. *Gentilis*. R. Wallace, *Antitrinitarian Biography*, 1, 352. C. C. Sand, *Bibliotheca Anti-trinitariorum*, p. 26. Jac. Spon, *Hiſtoire de Génève*, Liv. iii.

Finally, you come to answer some maine Objections, as you call them, which yet are but one, and that one objecteth nothing against what we hold. It is (say you) no prejudice to the Common-wealth, if Libertie of Conscience were suffered to such as feare God indeed, which you prove by the examples of the Patriarchs and others.

But we readily grant you, Libertie of Conscience is to be granted to men that feare God indeed, as knowing they will not persist in Heresie, or turbulent Schisme, when they are convinced in Conscience of the sinfulness thereof.

But the Question is, Whether an Heretick after once or twice Admonition (and so after conviction) or any other scandalous and heynous offender, may be tolerated, either in the Church without Excommunication, or in the Common-wealth without such punishment as may preserve others from dangerous and damnable infection.

Thus much I thought needfull to be spoken, for avoyding the Grounds of your Errour.

I forbear adding Reasons to justify the Truth, because you may finde that done to your hand, in a Treatise sent to some of the Brethren late of *Salem*, who doubted as you¹ doe.

The Lord Jesus lead you by a Spirit of Truth
into all Truth, through Jesus Christ.

¹ "Writing to one Mr. Hall," says Williams in a note to this sentence in *The Bloody Tenent yet more bloody*, p. 290. The "treatise" is "A Model of Church and Civil Power" which is "examined and answered" in the second part of this work, Chap. lxxxii. By whom it was

"sent to some of the Brethren late of Salem," is a point disputed between Cotton and Williams. Williams had added to the title, following the above hint of Cotton's, "Composed by Mr. Cotton and the Ministers of New England, and sent to the Church at Salem." *Bloody Tenent*, p.

118. Cotton replied that this was "a double falshood." "For Mr. Cotton, I know, that he was none of them that composed it." "Howsoever this Modell came to Salem, the Ministers say, it was not sent by them." *Bloody Tenent Washed*, p. 192. "Against this blustering charge of double falshood," Williams, after quoting this closing paragraph of Cotton's answer to the prisoner's arguments, says, "To my knowledge it was reported

(according to this hint of Mr. Cotton's) that from the Ministers of the Churches (pretended) such a Modell composed by them was sent to Salem: Hereupon it was that the Discusser wrote on purpose to his worthy friend Mr. Sharpe (elder of the Church of Salem (so called) for the fight of it, who accordingly sent it to him." *The Bloody Tenent yet more bloody*, p. 291.

A REPLY to the aforefaid ANSWER of *Mr. Cotton.*

In a CONFERENCE betweene *TRVTH and PEACE.*

CHAP. I.

Truth. **I**N what *darke corner* of the World (*sweet Peace*) are *we two* met? How hath this present evill *World* banished *Me* from all the Coasts & Quarters of it? and how hath the Righteous *God* in judgement taken *Thee* from the *Earth*, Rev. 6. 4.

Peace. 'Tis lamentably true (*blest Truth*) the *foun-* Truth and
dations of the *World* have long been out of course: Peace rare
the *Gates* of *Earth* and *Hell* have conspired together ly and
to intercept our joyfull *meeting* and our holy *kisses*: feldom
With what a wearied, *tyred Wing* have I flowne over meete.
Nations, Kingdomes, Cities, Townes, to finde out pre-
cious *Truth*?

Truth. The like enquiries in my flights and travells have I made for *Peace*, and still am told, she hath left the *Earth*, and fled to *Heaven*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, What is the *Earth* but a *dun-*
geon of darknesse, where *Truth* is not?

Truth. And what's the *Peace* thereof but a fleet-
ing *dream*, thine *Ape* and *Counterfeit*?

Peace. O where's the Promise of the *God* of *Heaven*, that *Righteousnes* and *Peace* shall *kisse* each other?

Truth. *Patience* (sweet *Peace*) these *Heavens* and *Earth* are growing *Old*, and shall be changed like a *Garment*, Psal. 102. They shall melt away, and be burnt up with all the *Works* that are therein; and the most high *Eternall Creatour*, shall gloriously create *New Heavens* and *New Earth*, wherein dwells *Righteousnesse*, 2 Pet. 3. Our *kisses* then shall have their *endlesse* date of pure and sweetest ioyes? till then both *Thou* and *I* must hope, and wait, and beare the furie of the *Dragons* wrath, whose *monstrous Lies* and *Furies* shall with himselfe be cast into the *lake of Fire*, the *second death*, Revel. 20.

Peace. Most precious *Truth*, thou knowest we are both pursued and [16] laid [in wait] for: Mine *heart* is full of sighes, mine *eyes* with teares: Where can I better vent my full oppressed *bosome*, then into *thine*, whose faithfull *lips* may for these few houres revive my drooping wandring *spirits*, and here begin to *wipe Teares* from mine eyes, and the eyes of my dearest *Children*?

Truth. Sweet daughter of the *God of Peace*, begin; powre out thy *sorrowes*, vent thy *complaints*: how joyfull am I to improve these precious Minutes to revive our *Hearts*, both thine and mine, and the hearts of all that *love* the *Truth* and *Peace*, Zach. 8.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, I know thy *birth*, thy *nature*, thy *delight*. They that know thee, will *prize* thee farre above themselves and lives, and *sell themselves* to *buy thee*. Well spake that famous *Elizabeth* to

her famous *Attorney* Sir *Edward Coke* :¹ Mr. *Attorney*, goe on as thou hast begun, and still plead, not *pro Domina Regina*, but *pro Domina Veritate*.

Truth. 'Tis true, my *Crowne* is high, my *Scepter's* strong to breake down *strongest holds*, to throw down highest *Crownes* of all that plead (though but in thought) against me. Some few there are, but oh how few are valiant for the *Truth*, and dare to plead my *Cause*, as my *Witnesses* in sack-cloth, Revel. 11. While all mens *Tongues* are bent like *Bowes* to shoot out lying words against Me!

Peace. O how could I spend *eternall dayes* and *endlesse dates* at thy holy feet, in listning to the precious Oracles of thy mouth! All the Words of thy mouth are *Truth*, and there is no *iniquity* in them; Thy *lips* drop as the hony-combe. But oh! since we must part anon, let us (as thou saidst) improve our *Minutes*, and (according as thou promisedst) revive me with

¹ Sir Edward Coke was a patron of Williams in his youth. During Williams's second visit to England, 1652-4, he begun a correspondence with Mrs. Sadleir, Coke's daughter, and in his first letter says of him, "How many thousand times have I had honourable and precious remembrance of his person, and the life, the writings, the speeches, and the examples of that glorious light. And I may truly say, that beside my natural inclination to study and activity, his example, instruction and encouragement, have spurred me on to a more than ordinary, industrious, and patient course in my whole course hitherto." To this letter Mrs. Sadleir put the following note: "This Roger Williams, when he was a

youth, would in short hand, take sermons and speeches in the Star Chamber, and present them to my dear father. He, seeing so hopeful a youth, took such a liking to him that he sent him in to Sutton's Hospital [now the Charter House] and he was the second that was placed there: full little did he think that he would have proved such a rebel to God, the king and his country. I leave his letters, that if ever he has the face to return into his native country, Tyburn may give him welcome." Elton, *Life of Roger Williams*, pages 90, 100. He had sent a copy of the *Bloudy Tenent* to Mrs. Sadleir, which she refused to read.

thy words, which are sweeter then the honey and the honey-combe.

CHAP. II.

²
great com-
plaints of
Peace.

DEare *Truth*, I have two sad *Complaints*:
First, the most sober of thy *Witnesses*, that dare to *plead* thy *Cause*, how are they charged to be *mine Enemies, contentious, turbulent, seditious*?

Secondly, *Thine Enemies*, though they speake and raile against thee, though they outrageously *pursue, imprison, banish, kill* thy faithfull *Witnesses*, yet how is all vermillion'd o're for *Justice* 'gainst the *Here-ticks*? Yea, if they kindle coales, and blow the flames of *devouring Warres*, that leave neither *Spirituell* nor *Civill State*, but burns up *Branch* [17] and *Root*, yet how doe all pretend an *holy War*? He that *kills*, and hee that's *killed*, they both cry out, It is for *God*, and for their *conscience*.

Perfecu-
tors sel-
dom plead
Christ, but
Moses for
their Au-
thor.

Tis true, nor one nor other feldome dare to plead the mighty Prince *Christ Jesus* for their *Authour*, yet both (both *Protestant* and *Papist*) pretend they have spoke with *Moses* and the *Prophets*, who all, say they (before *Christ* came) allowed such *holy persecutions, holy Warres* against the enemies of holy *Church*.

Truth. Deare *Peace* (to ease thy first *complaint*) tis true, thy dearest *Sons*, most like their mother, *Peace-keeping, Peace-making Sons of God*, have borne and still must beare the *blurs* of *troublers* of *Israel*, and turners of the *World* upside downe. And tis true againe, what *Salomon* once spake: The *beginning* of

Strife is as when one letteth out *Water*, therefore (saith he) leave off *contention* before it be medled with. This *Caveat* should keepe the *bankes* and *fluces* firme and strong, that *strife*, like a *breach of waters*, breake not in upon the sons of men.

Yet *strife* must be distinguished: It is *necessary* or *unnecessary*, *godly* or *ungodly*, *Christian* or *unchristian*, &c. Strife distinguished

It is *unnecessary*, *unlawfull*, *dishonourable*, *ungodly*, *unchristian*, in most cases in the world, for there is a *possibility* of keeping *sweet Peace* in most cases, and if it be *possible*, it is the expresse command of God that *Peace* be kept, *Rom.* 13. 1. Ungodly Strife.

Againe, it is *necessary*, *honourable*, *godly*, &c. with *civill* and earthly *weapons* to defend the *innocent*, and to rescue the oppressed from the violent *pawes* and *jaws* of oppressing persecuting *Nimrods*, *Psal.* 73. *Job* 29. 2. Godly Strife.

It is as *necessary*, yea more *honourable*, *godly*, and *Christian*, to fight the fight of *faith*, with *religious* and *spirituall Artillery*, and to contend earnestly for the *faith* of *Iesus*, once delivered to the *Saints* against all *opposers*, and the *gates* of *earth* and *hell*, men or devils, yea against *Paul* himselfe, or an *Angell* from *heaven*, if he bring any other *faith* or *doctrine*, *Jude vers.* 4. *Gal.* 1. 8.

Peace. With the *clashing* of such *Armes* am I never *wakened*. Speake once againe (deare Truth) to my second *complaint* of bloody *persecution*, and devouring *wars*, marching under the colours of upright *Justice*, and holy *Zeale*, &c. A three-fold dolefull cry. Christs worship is his bed, Cant. 1. 16

Truth. Mine eares have long beene filled with a threefold dolefull *Outcry*.

Falſe wor-
ſhip there-
fore is a
falſe bed.

First, of one hundred forty four thousand *Virgins* (*Rev.* 14.) forc'd and raviſht by *Emperours, Kings,* and *Governours* to their beds of *worſhip* and *Religion*, ſet up (like *Abſaloms*) on high in their ſeverall *States* and *Countries*.

The cry
of the
ſoules un-
der the
Altar.

18] Secondly, the cry of thoſe precious *ſoules* under the *Altar* (*Rev.* 6.) the *ſoules* of ſuch as have beene perſecuted and ſlaine for the testimony and *witneſſe* of *Jeſus*, whoſe *bloud* hath beene ſpilt like *water* upon the *earth*, and that becauſe they have held faſt the *truth* and *witneſſe* of *Jeſus*, againſt the *worſhip* of the *States* and *Times*, compelling to an *uniformity* of *State Religion*.

Theſe *cries* of *murthered Virgins* who can ſit ſtill and heare? Who can but run with zeale inflamed to prevent the *defflowring* of *chaſte ſoules*, and ſpilling of the *bloud* of the *innocent*? *Humanity* ſtirs up and prompts the *Sonnes* of men to draw *materiall ſwords* for a *Virgins chaſtity* and *life*, againſt a *raviſhing murtherer*? And *Piety* and *Chriſtianity* muſt needs awaken the *Sons of God* to draw the *ſpirituall ſword* (the *Word of God*) to preſerve the *chaſtity* and *life* of *ſpirituall Virgins*, who abhorre the *ſpirituall defilements* of *false worſhip*, *Rev.* 14.

A cry of
the whole
earth.

Thirdly, the *cry* of the *whole earth*, made *drunke* with the *bloud* of its *inhabitants*, ſlaughtering each other in their *blinded zeale*, for *Conſcience*, for *Religion*, againſt the *Catholickes*, againſt the *Lutherans*, &c.

What fearfull *cries* within theſe twenty years of hundred *thouſands* men, women, children, fathers, mothers, husbands, wives, brethren, ſiſters, old and young, high and low, *plundered, raviſhed, ſlaughtered*,

murthered, famished? And hence these cries, that men fling away the *spirituall sword and spirituall artillery* (in *spirituall and religious* causes) and rather trust for the suppressing of each others *God, Conscience, and Religion* (as they suppose) to an *arme of flesh, and sword of Steele?*

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, what hast thou there?

Peace. Arguments against *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*.

Truth. And what there?

Peace. An *Answer* to such *Arguments*, contrarily maintaining such *persecution* for cause of *Conscience*.

Truth. These *Arguments* against such *persecution*, and the *Answer* pleading for it, written (as *Love* hopes) from godly intentions, hearts, and hands, yet in a marvellous different *stile and manner*. The *Arguments* against *persecution* in *milke*, the *Answer* for it (as I may say) in *bloud*.

The *Authour* of these *Arguments* (against *persecution*) (as I have beene informed) being committed by some then in power, close prisoner to *Newgate*, for the witness of some truths of *Iesus*, and having not the use of *Pen and Inke*, wrote these *Arguments* in *Milke*, in sheets of Paper, brought to him by the *Woman* his *Keeper*, from a friend in *London*, as the stopples of his *Milk bottle*.

19] In such Paper written with *Milk* nothing will appeare, but the way of reading it by *fire* being knowne to this *friend* who received the Papers, he transcribed and kept together the Papers, although the *Author* himselfe could not correct, nor view what himselfe had written.

The wonderfull providence of God in the writing of the Arguments against persecution in Milke.

It was in *milke*, tending to foule *nourishment*, even for *Babes* and *Sucklings* in *Chrift*.

It was in *milke*, *ſpiritually white*, pure and innocent, like thoſe *white horſes* of the *Word of truth* and *meekneſſe*, and the *white Linnen* or *Armour* of *righteouſneſſe*, in the *Army* of *Jeſus*. *Rev.* 6. & 19.

It was in *milke*, ſoft, meeke, peaceable and gentle, tending both to the *peace* of *ſoules*, and the *peace* of *States* and *Kingdomes*.

The An-
ſwer writ
in Bloud.

Peace. The *Anſwer* (though I hope out of milkie pure intentions) is returned in *bloud*: *bloudy* & ſlaughteous *concluſions*; *bloudy* to the *ſouls* of all men, forc'd to the *Religion* and *Worſhip* which every civil State or Common-weale agrees on, and compells all ſubjects to in a diſſembled *uniformitie*.

Bloudy to the *bodies*, firſt of the holy *witneſſes* of *Chriſt Jeſus*, who teſtifie againſt ſuch invented worſhips.

Secondly, of the *Nations* and *Peoples* ſlaughtering each other for their ſeverall reſpective *Religions* and *Conſciences*.

CHAP. III.

Truth. **I**N the *Anſwer* Mr. *Cotton* firſt layes downe ſeverall *diſtinctiōs* and *concluſions* of his owne, tending to prove *perſecution*.

Secondly, *Anſwers* to the *Scriptures*, and *Arguments* propoſed againſt *perſecution*.

The firſt
diſtinction
diſcuſſed.

Peace. The firſt diſtinction is this: By *perſecution* for cauſe of *Conſcience*, “I conceive you meane “either for profeſſing ſome point of *doctrīne* which

“you beleeve in *conscience* to be the *truth*, or for
“*praetifing* some worke which you beleeve in *con-*
“*science* to be a *religious* dutie.

Truth. I acknowledge that to molest any person, Definition of perfecution discussed.
Jew or *Gentile*, for either professing *doctrine*, or prac-
tising *worship* meerly *religious* or spirituall, it is to
persecute him, and such a person (what ever his *doc-*
trine or *praetice* be true or *false*) suffereth perfecution
for *conscience*.

But withall I desire it may bee well observed, that
this *distinction* is not full and complete: For beside
this that a man may be persecuted [20] because he
holdeth or praetiseth what he beleeves in *conscience*
to be a *Truth*, (as *Daniel* did, for which he was cast
into the *Lyons* den, *Dan.* 6.) and many thousands of
Christians, because they durst not cease to *preach* and
praetise what they beleeved was by *God* commanded, Conscience will not be restrained from its own worship, nor constrained to another.
as the *Apostles* answered (*Acts* 4. & 5.) I say besides
this a man may also be persecuted, because hee dares
not be *constrained* to yeeld obedience to such *doctrines*
and *worships* as are by men invented and appointed.
So the three famous *Jewes* were cast into the fiery
furnace for refusing to fall downe (in a *non-conformity*
to the whole conforming world) before the golden
Image, *Dan.* 3. 21. So thousands of *Christs* witnesses
(and of late in those bloudy *Marian* dayes) have
rather chose to yeeld their *bodies* to all sorts of *tor-*
ments, then to subscribe to *doctrines*, or praetise *wor-*
ships, unto which the States and Times (as *Nabu-*
chadnezzar to his golden *Image*) have compelled and
urged them.

A chaste *wife* will not onely abhorre to be restrained

A chaste from her *husbands bed*, as adulterous and polluted, but
 foule in also abhor (if not much more) to bee constrained to
 Gods wor- the *bed* of a *stranger*. And what is abominable in
 ship like a the *bed* of a *stranger*. And what is abominable in
 chaste wife. *corporall*, is much more loathsome in *spirituall* *wore-*
dome and defilement.

The Spouse of *Christ Jesus* who could not finde
 her soules beloved in the *wayes* of his *worship* and
Ministry, (*Cant.* 1. 3. and 5. Chapters) abhorred to
 turne aside to other *Flockes*, *Worships*, &c. and to
 imbrace the bosome of a false *Christ*, *Cant.* 1. 8.

CHAP. IV.

The sec- *Peace.* **T**He second distinction is this.

ond dif- In points of Doctrine some are funda-
 tinction mentall, without right beleefe whereof a man can-
 discussed. not be saved: others are circumstantiall and lesse
 principall, wherein a man may differ in judgement
 without prejudice of salvation on either part.

Gods peo- *Truth.* To this *distinction* I dare not subscribe, for
 ple may then I should everlastingly condemne thousands, and
 erre from ten thousands, yea the whole *generation* of the *right-*
 the very *eous*, who since the falling away (from the first prim-
 fundamen- itive *Christian* state or *worship*) have and doe erre
 tals of vis- fundamentally concerning the true *matter*, *constitution*,
 ible wor- *gathering* and *governing* of the *Church*: and yet farre
 ship. be it from any pious *breast* to imagine that they are
 not saved, and that their soules are not bound up in
 the bundle of *eternall life*.

We reade of foure sorts of spirituall or Christian
foundations in the *New Testament*.

4 sorts of 21] First, the *Foundation* of all *foundations*, the Cor-

ner-stone it selfe, the *Lord Jesus*, on whom all depend, ^{spirituall} *Persons, Doctrines, Practices*, 1 Cor. 3. ^{Foundations.}

2. *Ministeriall foundations.* The Church is built upon the foundation of the *Apostles and Prophets*, Ephes. 2. 20.

3. The foundation of future rejoycing in the fruits of *Obedience*, 1 Tim. 6.

4. The foundation of *Doctrines*, without the know- ^{στοιχεῖα} ledge of which, there can be no true profession of ^{θεμελίαι.} *Christ*, according to the first institution, Heb. 6. The ^{The sixe} foundation or principles of *Repentance* from dead ^{Foundations of} works, *Faith* towards God, the *Doctrines* of *Baptisme*, ^{the Christian Religion or} *Laying on of Hands*, the *Resurrection*, and *Eternall* ^{Worship.} *Judgement*. In some of these, to wit, those concerning *Baptismes*, & *Laying on of Hands*, Gods people will be found to be ignorant for many hundred yeares: and I yet cannot see it proved that *light* is risen, I mean the *light* of the first institution, in practice.¹

Gods people in their persons, *Heart-waking*, (Cant. 5. 2.) in the life of *personall grace*, will yet be found fast asleep in respect of *publike Christian Worship*.

Gods people (in their persons) are *His*, most deare and precious: yet in respect of the *Christian Worship* ^{Comming out of Ba-} they are mingled amongst the *Babylonians*, from bell, not

¹ The doctrine of laying on of hands was early adopted in some of the Baptist churches of Rhode Island. "About the year 1653 or '54, there was a division in the Baptist Church at Providence, about the right of laying on of hands, * * * * but laying on of hands at length generally obtained," Callender, *Historical Discourse*, 114; Comer's Ms. Diary, Staples, *Annals of Providence*,

410; Backus, *Church History of New England*, iii, 217. The adherents of this practice formed an Association of Churches about 1670, which still continues, though now quite small. "They have eighteen or twenty churches, sixteen ordained ministers, and about three thousand members." Appleton's *Amer. Cyclopedia*, xiv.

locall but
myfticall.

whence they are called to come out, not *locally* (as some have faid) for that belonged to a materiall and locall *Babell*, (and, literall *Babell* and *Jerusalem* have now no difference, *John* 4. 21.) but *ſpiritually*, and myſtically to come out from her ſins and *Abominations*.

If Mr. *Cotton* maintaine the true *Church* of *Chriſt* to conſiſt of the true *matter* of *holy perſons* call'd out from the World; and the true *forme* of *Union* in a *Church-Covenant*; And that alſo, neither *Nationall*, *Provinciall*, nor *Diocesan* Churches are of *Chriſts* *inſtitution*: how many Thouſands of *Gods* people of all ſorts, (*Clergie* and *Laitie*, as they call them) will they finde both in former and later times, captivated in ſuch *Nationall*, *Provinciall*, and *Diocesan* Churches? yea and ſo far from living in, yea or knowing of any ſuch *Churches* (for matter and forme) as they conceive now only to be true, that untill of late yeares, how few of *Gods* people knew any other *Church* then the *Pariſh Church* of dead ſtones or timber? It being a late marvailous *light* revealed by *Chriſt Jeſus* the Sun of *Righteouſneſſe*, that his people are a *Company* or *Church* of living ſtones, 1 *Pet.* 2. 9.

The great
Ignorance
of Gods
people
concern-
ing the
Nature of
the true
Church.

Mr. *Cotton*
& all the
Halfe Sep-
erates, halt
ing be-
tween true
& falſe
Churches,
and confe-
quently,
not yet
clear in

And however his own *Soule*, and the ſoules of many others (precious to *God*) are perſwaded to ſeparate from *Nationall*, *Provinciall*, and *Diocesan Churches*, and to aſſemble into particular *Churches*: yet ſince [22] there are no *Pariſh Churches* in *Eng-land*, but what are made up of the *Pariſh* bounds within ſuch and ſuch a compaſſe of *houſes*; and that ſuch *Churches* have beene and are in conſtant dependence on, and ſubordination to the *Nationall Church*:

how can the *New-English particular Churches* joyne with the *Old English Parish Churches* in so many *Ordinances of Word, Prayer, Singing, Contribution, &c.* but they must needs confesse, that as yet their Soules are farre from the *knowledge* of the *foundation* of a true *Christian Church*, whose matter must not only be living stones, but also separated from the *rubbish* of *Antichristian confusions* and *desolations*. the fundam-
mentall
matter of a
Christiā
Church.

CHAP. V.

Peace. **W**ith lamentation I may adde: How can their Soules be cleare in this *foundation* of the true *Christian* matter, who persecute and oppresse their own (acknowledged) Brethren presenting Light unto them about this Point? But I shall now present you with Mr. *Cottons* third *distinction*. “In point of Practice (saith he) some concerne the “weightier duties of the Law, as, What God we “worship, and with what kind of Worship: whether “such, as if it be Right, fellowship with God is held, “if false, fellowship with God is lost.

Truth. It is worth the inquirie, what kind of *Worship* he intendeth; for *Worship* is of various signification: whether in generall acceptation he meane the *rightnesse* or *corruptnesse* of the *Church*, or the *Ministry* of the *Church*, or the *Ministrations* of the *Word, Prayer, Seales, &c.* The true
Ministrie
a Funda-
mentall.

And because it pleaseth the *Spirit* of *God* to make the *Ministry* one of the *foundations* of the *Christian Religion*, (*Heb. 6. 12.*) and also to make the *Ministrie* of the *Word* and *Prayer* in the *Church*, to be

two speciall works (even of the Apostles themselves) *Acts* 6. 2. I shall desire it may be well considered in the feare of God.

The New
English
Ministers
examined.

First, concerning the *Ministry* of the *Word*; The *New-English Ministers*, when they were new elected & ordained *Ministers* in *New-Englād*, must undenia- bly grant, that at that time they were no *Ministers*, notwithstanding their profession of standing so long in a true *Ministry* in *Old England*, whether received from the Bishops (which some have maintained true) or from the People, which Mr. *Cotton* & others better liked,¹ and which *Ministrie* was alwayes accounted perpetuall and indelible: I apply, and aske, Will it not follow, that if their new *Ministry* and *Ordination* be true, the former was false? and if false, that in the [23] exercise of it (notwithstanding *abilities, graces, intentions, labours*, and (by Gods gracious, unpromised, & extraordinary blessing) some *successe*) I say, will it not according to this distinction follow, that according to visible *rule, Fellowship* with God was lost?

Common
Prayer cast
off, & writ-
ten against
by the
New-Eng-
lish.

Secondly, concerning *Prayer*; The *New-English Ministers* have disclaimed and written against that *worshipping* of God by the *Common* or set formes of *Prayer*, which yet themselves practised in *England*, notwithstanding they knew that many servants of God in great sufferings witnessed against such a *Ministrie* of the *Word*, and such a *Ministrie* of *Prayer*.²

Peace. I could name the *persons, time* and *place*,

¹ "The Church of Brethren hath the power, privileges and liberty to choose their officers." *The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven*, p. 12. Cf. *The Way of the Churches*, Chap. 2, Sect. 6-9.

² Cotton's views on this subject have already been considered by Professor Diman in a note to Cotton's *Answer*, &c., *Publications of Narr. Club*, ii, 162.

when some of them were faithfully admonished for using of the *Common prayer*, and the Arguments presented to them, then seeming weake, but now acknowledged sound: yet at that time they satisfied their hearts with the practice of the *Author* of the *Councell of Trent*, who used to read only some of the choicest selected Prayers in the *Masse-booke*, (which I confesse was also their own practice in their using of the *Common-Prayer*.)¹ But now according to this *distinction*, I ask whether or no fellowship with God in such prayers was lost.

¹ "I know no such faithfull admonishers, as presented to us in England, arguments against the Common Prayer, * * * though such a thing possibly may be true, howsoever forgotten. But this I am persuaded to be utterly false, that any of us satisfied our hearts with the practice of the Author of the Councell of Trent, &c." Cotton, *The Bloody Tenent Washed*, page 8.

"Possibly Master Cotton may call to minde, that the discussor (riding with himself and one other of precious memorie (Master Hooker) to and from Sempringham) presented his argument from Scripture, why he durst not joyn with them in their use of Common Prayer; and all the answer that yet can be remembered the discussor received from Master Cotton, was, that he selected the good and best prayers in his use of that book, as the Author of the Councell of Trent was used to do, in his using of the *Masse-book*." *The Bloody Tenent yet more bloody*, p. 12.

Sempringham, a seat of the Clintons, Earls of Lincoln, and of a Priory of Cistercians, is a small parish near Folkingham, in Lincolnshire, about eighteen

miles from Boston, where Cotton was rector. Rapin, *History of England*, i, 254; Camden, *Britannia*, 464; Allen, *History of County of Lincoln*, ii, 285.

Thomas Hooker, who is probably referred to, was minister at Chelmsford in Essex, 1626-1630, and came to this country in the same ship with Cotton in 1633. *Mather's Magnalia*, i, 304. There is possibly a clue here to Williams's life previous to his coming to America, which might be followed with advantage.

Father Paul Sarpi, the historian of the Council of Trent, in many things showed his independence of the Holy See and provoked its enmity. Father Courayer, who translated his History into French, says that "Sarpi was a Catholic in general, and sometimes a Protestant in particulars. He observed every thing in the Romish religion which could be practiced without superstition." An account of his life is prefixed to Brent's translation of his History, London, 1676. There is a discriminating notice of Sarpi, and of his biographies, by Rev. James Martineau, in the *Westminster Review*, April, 1838.

Gods people have worshipped God with false worships.

Truth. I could particularize other *exercises* of *Worship*, which cannot be denied (according to this *distinction*) to be of the *weightier points* of the *Law*, to wit, [What *God* we *worship*, and with what kind of *worship*:] wherein fellowship with *God* (in many of our unclean and abominable *Worships*) hath been lost. Only upon these premises I shall observe. First, that *Gods people*, even the *standard-bearers* and *leaders* of them (according to this distinction) have worshipped *God* (in their sleepy *ignorance*) by such a kind of *Worship*, as wherein *fellowship* with *God* is lost; yea also this it is possible for them to do, after much *light* is risen against such *Worship*, and in particular, brought to the eyes of such *holy* and *worthy* persons.

It pleaseth God sometimes, beyond his promise, to convey blessings & comfort to His, in false worships.

Secondly, there may be inward and secret *fellowship* with *God* in false *Ministeries* of *Word* and *Prayer*, (for that to the eternall prayse of *Infinite Mercy* beyond a word or promise of *God* I acknowledge) when yet (as the distinction saith) in such *worship* (not being *right*) *fellowship* with *God* is lost, and such a *service* or *ministration* must be lamented and forsaken.

Fundamentals of Christian worship not so easie and sure.

Thirdly, I observe that *Gods people* may live and die in such kindes of *worship*, notwithstanding that *light* from *God* publikely and privately, hath beene presented to them, able to convince: yet not reaching to [24] their *conviction* and forsaking of such wayes, contrary to a *conclusion* afterward exprest, to wit, [That *fundamentals* are so cleere, that a man cannot but be convinced in *Conscience*, and therefore that such a person not being convinced, he is *condemned of himselfe*, and may be *persecuted* for sinning against his *conscience*.]

Fourthly, I observe that in such a maintaining a clearnesse of *fundamentals* or waightier *points*, and upon that ground a persecuting of men, because they sinne against their *consciences*, Mr. *Cotton* measures that to *others*, which himselfe when he lived in such *practices*, would not have had measured to himselfe. As first, that it might have beene affirmed of him, that in such *practices* he did sinne against his *conscience*, having sufficient light shining about him.

Secondly, that hee should or might lawfully have beene cut off by *death* or *banishment*, as an *Hereticke*, sinning against his owne *conscience*.

And in this respect the Speech of King *Iames* was notable to a great *Non-conformitant* converted (as is said by King *James*) to *conformity*, and counselling the *King* afterward to persecute the *Non-conformists* even unto *death*: Thou *Beast* (quoth the *King*) if I had dealt so with thee in thy *non-conformity*, where hadst thou beene?

A notable
speech of
K. *Iames*
to a great
non-con-
formist,
turned
persecu-
ter.

CHAP. VI.

Peace. **T**He next *distinction* concerning the manner of *persons* holding forth the aforesaid *practices* (not onely the waightier duties of the *Law*, but points of *doctrine* and *worship* lesse principall.)

The 4.
distinction
discussed.

“Some (saith he) hold them forth in a meeke and “*peaceable* way: some with such *arrogance* and *impetuosenesse*, as of it selfe tendeth to the disturbance of “*civill peace*.”

Truth. In the examination of this *distinction* we shall discusse,

What
civill
peace is.

First, what is *civill Peace*, (wherein we shall vindicate thy name the better.)

Secondly, what it is to hold forth a Doctrine or Practice in this *impetuouſneſſe* or *arrogancy*.

First, for *civill peace*, what is it but *pax civitatis*, the peace of the Citie, whether an *Engliſh* City, *Scotch*, or *Iriſh* Citie, or further abroad, *French*, *Spaniſh*, *Turkiſh* City, &c.

Thus it pleaſed the Father of *Lights* to define it, *Ierem.* 29. 7. Pray for the *peace* of the *City*; which *peace* of the *City*, or *Citizens*, ſo compacted in a *civill* way of *union*, may be intire, unbroken, ſafe, &c. not-25] withſtanding ſo many thouſands of *Gods people* the *Jewes*, were there in *bondage*, and would neither be *conſtrained* to the *worſhip* of the Citie *Babell*, nor reſtrained from ſo much of the *worſhip* of the true *God*, as they then could practice, as is plaine in the practice of the 3 *Worthies*, *Shadrach*, *Miſach*, and *Abednego*, as alſo of *Daniel*, *Dan.* 3. & *Dan.* 6. (the peace of the *City* or *Kingdome*, being a far different Peace from the Peace of the *Religion* or Spirituall *Worſhip*, maintained & profeſſed of the *Citizens*. This *Peace* of their *Worſhip* (which *worſhip* alſo in ſome Cities being various) being a falſe Peace, *Gods people* were and ought to be *Nonconformitants*, not daring either to be *reſtrained* from the *true*, or *conſtrained* to *faulſe Worſhip*, and yet without *breach* of the *Civill* or *Citie-peace*, properly ſo called.

Gods peo-
ple muſt
be Non-
conformi-
tants to
Evill.

The dif-
ference
between
Spirituall

Peace. Hence it is that ſo many glorious and flouriſhing *Cities* of the World maintaine their *Civill* peace, yea the very *Americans* & wildeſt *Pagans* keep the peace of their *Towns* or *Cities*; though neither

in one nor the other can any man prove a true *Church* and Civill Peace. of God in those places, and consequently no spirituall and heavenly peace: The Peace *spirituall* (whether true or false) being of a higher and farre different nature from the Peace of the place or people, being meerly and essentially *civill* and *humane*.

Truth. O how lost are the sonnes of men in this point? To illustrate this: The *Church* or *company* of *worshippers* (whether true or false) is like unto a Body or Colledge of *Physitians* in a *Citie*; like unto a *Corporation*, *Society*, or *Company* of *East-Indie* or *Turkie-Merchants*, or any other *Societie* or *Company* in *London*: which Companies may hold their *Courts*, keep their *Records*, hold *disputations*; and in matters concerning their *Societie*, may dissent, divide, breake into *Schismes* and *Factions*, sue and implead each other at the *Law*, yea wholly breake up and dissolve into pieces and nothing, and yet the *peace* of the *Citie* not be in the least measure impaired or disturbed; because the *essence* or being of the *Citie*, and so the *well-being* and *peace* thereof is essentially distinct from those particular *Societies*; the *Citie-Courts*, *Citie-Lawes*, *Citie-punishments* distinct from theirs. The *Citie* was before them, and stands absolute and intire, when such a *Corporation* or *Societie* is taken down. For instance further, The *City* or *Civill state* of *Ephesus* was essentially distinct from the *worship* of *Diana* in the *Citie*, or of the *whole city*. Againe, the *Church* of *Christ* in *Ephesus* (which were Gods people, converted and call'd out from the *worship* of that *City* unto *Christianitie* or *worship* of *God* in *Christ*) was distinct from both.

The difference between the Spirituall and Civill State.

The Civil
State, the
Spirituell
estate,
and the
Church of
Christ dis-
tinct in
Ephesus.

26] Now suppose that *God* remove the *Candlestick* from *Ephesus*, yea though the *whole Worship* of the *Citie of Ephesus* should be altered: yet (if men be true and honestly ingenuous to *Citie-covenants*, *Combinations* and *Principles*) all this might be without the least impeachment or infringement of the Peace of the *City of Ephesus*.

Thus in the *Citie of Smirna* was the *Citie* it selfe or *Civill estate* one thing, The *Spirituell* or *Religious* state of *Smirna*, another; The *Church of Christ* in *Smirna*, distinct from them both; and the *Synagogue* of the *Jewes*, whether literally *Jewes* (as some thinke) or mystically, false *Christians*, (as others) called the *Synagogue of Sathan*, Revel. 2. distinct from all these. And notwithstanding these spirituell oppositions in point of *Worship* and *Religion*, yet heare we not the least noyse (nor need we, if Men keep but the Bond of *Civility*) of any *Civil breach*, or *breach* of *Civill peace* amongst them: and to persecute Gods people there for Religion, that only was a breach of *Civility* it selfe.

CHAP. VII.

Peace. NOW to the second Quærie, What it is to hold forth Doctrine or Practice in an arrogant or impetuous way?

The Answerer too
obscure in
generalls.

Truth. Although it hath not pleased Mr. Cotton to declare what is this *arrogant* or *impetuous* holding forth of *Doctrine* or *Practice* tending to disturbance of *Civill peace*, I cannot but expresse my sad and sorrowfull observation, how it pleaseth *God* to leave him,

as to take up the common reproachfull *accusation* of Gods meekest servants ^{to be counted} the *Accuser* of Gods children; to wit, that they are arrogant and impetuous: which charge (together with that of *obstinacie*, *pertinacie*, *pride*, *Troublers* of the Citie, &c.) *Sathan* commonly loads the meekest of the *Saints* and *Witnesses* of *Iesus* with.

To wipe off therefore these fowle *blurs* and *aspersions* from the faire and beautiful face of the *Spouse* of *Iesus*, I shall select and propose 5 or 6 cases, for 6 cases which Gods witnesses in all Ages and Generations of Men, have been charged with *arrogance*, *impetuoufnes*, &c. and yet the *God* of *Heaven*, and *Iudge* of all men, hath graciously discharged them from such crimes, and maintained and avowed them for his *faithfull* and *peaceable* servants.

First, Gods people have *proclaimed*, *taught*, *disputed* for divers months together, a *new Religion* and *Worship*, contrary to the *Worship* projected [27] in the *Towne*, *City*, or *State*, where they have lived, or where they have travelled, as did the *Lord Iesus* Himselfe over all *Galile*, and the *Apostles* after Him in all places, both in the *Synagogues* and *Market-places*, as appeares *Acts* 17. 2. 17. *Acts* 18. 48. [4. 8.] Yet this no *Arrogance* nor *Impetuoufnesse*.

Secondly, Gods servants have been *zealous* for their *Lord* and *Master*, even to the very faces of the Highest, and concerning the persons of the Highest, so far as they have opposed the *Truth* of God: So *Eliab* to the face of *Abab*, It is not *I*, but *thou*, and thy *Fathers* house that troublest *Israel*: So the *Lord Iesus* concerning *Herod*, Goe tell that *Fox*: So *Paul*, God delivered me from the mouth of the *Lion*; and to

moveable
to death.

Ananias, Thou *whited wall*, and yet in all this no *Arrogance*, nor *Impetuousnesse*.

Thirdly, *Gods people* have been *immoveable, constant* and *resolved* to the *death*, in refusing to submit to false *Worships*, and in *preaching* and *professing* the true *worship*, contrary to expresse command of *publicke Authority*: So the three *famous Worthies* against the command of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the uniforme *conformity* of all *Nations* agreeing upon a false *worship*, *Dan. 3.* So the *Apostles* (*Acts 4* and *5* chap.) and so the witnesses of *Iesus* in all ages, who loved not their lives to the *death* (*Rev. 12.*) not regarding sweet *life* nor bitter *death*, and yet not *Arrogant*, nor *Impetuous*.

Gods people
ever
maintain-
ed Christ
Iesus the
only Lord
and King
to the con-
science.

Fourthly, *Gods people* since the coming of the *King of Israel*, the *Lord Iesus*, have openly and constantly profest, that no *Civill Magistrate*, no *King* nor *Cæsar* have any power over the *Soules* or *Consciences* of their Subjects, in the matters of *God* and the *Crowne* of *Iesus*, but the *Civill Magistrates* themselves; yea *Kings* and *Keisars* are bound to subject their owne *soules* to the *Ministry* and *Church*, the *Power* and *Government* of this *Lord Iesus*, the *King of Kings*. Hence was the charge against the *Apostles* (false in *Civill*, but true in *spiritualls*) that they affirmed that there was another *King*, one *Iesus*, *Acts 17. 7.* And indeed, this was the great charge against the *Lord Iesus Himself*, which the *Iews* laid against Him, and for which he suffered *Death*, as appears by the *Accusation* written over His *Head* upon the *Gallows*, *Iohn 9. 19. Iesus of Nazareth King of the Iewes.*

This was and is the summe of all true preaching of the Gospell or glad newes, viz. That God anointed Jesus to be the sole King and Governour of all the Israel of God in spirituall and soule causes, *Psal.* 2. 6. *Acts* 2. 36. Yet this Kingly power of His he resolved not to manage [28] in His owne Person, but Ministerially in the hands of such Messengers which he sent forth to preach and baptise, and to such as beleaved that word they preached, *Iohn* 17. And yet here no *Arrogance* nor *Impetuousnesse*.

That
Christ is
King alone
over con-
science is
the sum of
all true
preaching

5. *Gods people* in delivering the Minde and Will of God concerning the Kingdomes and Civill States where they have lived, have seemed in all shew of common sense and rationall policie (if men looke not higher with the eye of faith) to endanger and overthrow the very Civill State, as appeareth by all *Jeremies* preaching and counsell to King *Zedechia*, his Princes and people, insomuch that the charge of the Princes against *Jeremiah* was, that he discouraged the Army from fighting against the Babylonians, and weakned the Land from its own defence, and this charge in the eye of reason, seemed not to be unreasonable or unrighteous, *Jer.* 37. 38. chapters, and yet in *Jeremy* no *Arrogance* nor *Impetuousnesse*.

Gods peo-
ple have
seemed the
disturbers
of Civill
State.

6. Lastly, *Gods people* by their preaching, disputing, &c. have beene (though not the cause) yet accidentally the occasion of great contentions and divisions, yea tumults and uproares in Townes and Cities where they have lived and come, and yet neither their Doctrine nor themselves *Arrogant* nor *Impetuous*, however so charged: For thus the Lord Jesus discovereth mens false and secure suppositions, *Luke* 11. 51. *Sup-*

Gods
word and
people the
occasion of
tumults.

pose ye that I am come to give peace on the earth? I tell you nay, but rather division, for from hence forth shall there be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three, the father shall be divided against the sonne, and the sonne against the father, &c. And thus upon the occasion of the Apostles preaching, the Kingdome and Worship of God in Christ, were most commonly uproares and tumults, where ever they came: For instance, those strange and monstrous uproares at *Iconium*, at *Ephesus*, at *Jerusalem*, *Acts* 14. 4. *Acts* 19. 29. 40. *Acts* 21. vers. 30, 31.

CHAP. VIII.

Peace. IT will be said (deare *Truth*) what the Lord Jesus and his Messengers taught was *Truth*, but the question is about Errour.

Truth. I answer, this distinction now in discussion, concernes not *Truth*, or Errour, but the manner of holding forth or divulging.

The instances proposed carry a great shew of impetuoufnesse, yet all are pure and peaceable.

29] I acknowledge that such may bee the way and manner of holding forth, (either with railing or reviling, daring or chalenging speeches, or with force of Armes, Swords, Guns, Prisons, &c.) that it may not only tend to breake, but may actually breake the civill peace, or peace of the Citie.

Yet these instances propounded are cases of great opposition and spirituall hostility, and occasions of breach of civill peace: and yet as the borders (or matter) were of gold: so the speckes (or manner

Cantic. 1.) were of silver : both matter and manner, pure, holy, peaceable, and inoffensive.

Moreover, I answer, that it is possible and common for persons of soft and gentle nature and spirits to hold out falsehood with more seeming meeknesse and peaceablenesse, then the Lord Jesus or his servants did or doe hold forth the true and everlasting Gospell. So that the answerer would be requested to explain what he means by this arrogant and impetuous holding forth of any doctrine, which very manner of holding forth tends to breake civill peace, and comes under the cognifance and correction of the Civill Magistrate: Lest hee build the Sepulchre of the Prophets, and say, If we had been in the Pharises daies, the Romane Emperours dayes, or the bloody *Marian* dayes, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets, *Mat.* 23. 30. who were charged with arrogance and impetuousnesse.

CHAP. IX.

2. *Ob.* **I**T will here be said, Whence then ariseth *Peace.* **I** civill dissentions and uproares about matters of Religion ?

Truth. I answer: When a Kingdome or State, Towne or Family, lyes and lives in the guilt of a false God, false Christ, false worship: no wonder if fore eyes be troubled at the appearance of the light, be it never so sweet: No wonder if a body full of corrupt humours be troubled at strong (though wholesome) Physick?[:] If persons sleepy and loving to sleepe

The true cause of tumults at the preaching of the Word.

be troubled at the noise of shrill (though silver) alarums: No wonder if *Adonijah* and all his company be amazed and troubled at the sound of the right Heyre [heir] King *Salomon*, 1 *King*. 1.[:] If the Hufbandmen were troubled when the Lord of the Vineyard sent servant after servant, and at last his onely Sonne, and they beat, and wounded, and kill'd even the Sonne himselfe, because they meant themselves to seize upon the inheritance, unto which they had no right, *Matth*. 21. 38. [30] Hence all those tumults about the Apostles in the *Acts*, &c. whereas good eyes are not so troubled at light; vigilant and watchfull persons loyall and faithfull, are not so troubled at the true, no nor at a false Religion of Jew or Gentile.

A prepos-
terous way
of suppress-
sing er-
rours-

Secondly, breach of civil peace may arise, when false and idolatrous practices are held forth, & yet no breach of civil peace from the doctrine or practice, or the manner of holding forth, but from that wrong and preposterous way of suppressing, preventing, and extinguishing such doctrines or practices by weapons of wrath and blood, whips, stocks, imprisonment, banishment, death, &c. by which men commonly are perswaded to convert Heretickes, and to cast out uncleane spirits, which onely the finger of God can doe, that is the mighty power of the Spirit in the Word.

Light only
can expell
fogs and
darknesse.

Hence the Towne is in an uproare, and the Country takes the Alarum to expell that fog or mist of Errour, Heresie, Blasphemy, (as is supposed) with Swords and Guns; whereas tis Light alone, even Light from the bright shining Sunne of Righteous-

nesse, which is able, in the soules and consciences of men to dispell and scatter such fogges and darknesse.

Hence the Sons of men, (as *David* speakes in another case, *Psal.* 39.) disquiet themselves in vaine, and unmercifully disquiet others, as (by the helpe of the Lord) in the sequell of this discourse shall more appeare.

CHAP. X.

Peace. **N**OW the last distinction is this: “Persecution for Conscience, is either for a rightly informed conscience, or a blinde and erroneous conscience.

Answer. Truth. Indeed both these consciences are persecuted: but lamentably blinde and erronious will these consciences shortly appear to be, which out of zeale for God (as is pretended) have persecuted either. And heavie is the doome of those blinde Guides and Idoll Shepherds (whose right eye Gods finger of jealousie hath put out) who flattering the ten Hornes or worldly Powers, perswade them what excellent and faithfull service they performe to God, in persecuting both these consciences: either hanging up a rightly informed conscience, and therein the Lord Jesus himselfe, betweene two malefactors, or else killing the erroneous and the blinde, like *Saul* (out of zeale to the Israel [31] of God) the poore Gibeonites, whom it pleased God to permit to live: and yet that hostility and cruelty used against them (as the repeated judgement yeare after yeare upon the whole Land after told them) could not be pardoned, untill the

death of the persecutor *Saul* [and] his sons had appeased the Lords displeasure, 2 *Sam.* 21.

CHAP. XI.

Peace. **A**FTER explication in these Distinctions, it pleaseth the Answerer to give his resolution to the question in foure particulars.

First, that he holds it not lawfull to persecute any for conscience sake rightly informed, for in persecuting such (saith he) Christ himself is persecuted: for which reason, truly rendred, he quotes *Act.* 9. 4. *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?*

Truth. He that shall reade this Conclusion over a thousand times, shall as soone finde darknesse in the bright beames of the Sunne, as in this so cleare and shining a beame of Truth, viz. That Christ Jesus in his Truth must not be persecuted.

Yet this I must aske (for it will be admired by all sober men) what should be the cause or inducement to the Answerers mind to lay down such a Position or Thesis as this is, *It is not lawfull to persecute the Lord Jesus.*

Search all Scriptures, Histories, Records, Monuments, consult with all experiences, did ever *Pharaoh*, *Saul*, *Abab*, *Jezabel*, Scribes and Pharises, the Jewes, *Herod*, the bloudy *Neroes*, *Gardiners*, *Boners*, Pope or Devill himselfe, profess to persecute the Son of God, Jesus as Jesus, Christ as Christ, without a mask or covering?

No, saith *Pharaoh*, the Israelites are idle, and therefore speake they of sacrificing: *David* is risen up in

a conspiracy against *Saul*, therefore persecute him : *Naboth* hath blasphemed God and the King, therefore stone him : *Christ* is a seducer of the people, a blasphemer against God, and traytor against *Cæsar*, therefore hang him : Christians are schismaticall, factious, hereticall, therefore persecute them : The Devill hath deluded *John Hus*, therefore crown him with a paper of Devils, and burne him, &c.

Peace. One thing I see apparently in the Lords over-ruling the pen of this worthy Answerer, *viz.* a secret whispering from heaven to him, that (although his foules ayme at Christ, and hath wrought much for [32] Christ in many sincere intentions, and Gods mercifull and patient acceptance) yet he hath never left the Tents of such who think they doe God good service in killing the Lord Jesus in his servants, and yet they say, if we had beene in the dayes of our Fathers in Queene *Maries* dayes, &c. we would never have consented to such persecution : And therefore when they persecute Christ Jesus in his truths or servants, they say, Doe not say you are persecuted for the Word for Christ his sake, for we hold it not lawfull to persecute Iesus Christ.

Let me also adde a second ; So farre as he hath beene a Guide (by preaching for persecution) I say, wherein he hath beene a Guide and Leader, by misinterpreting and applying the Writings of Truth, so far I say his owne mouthes and hands shall judge (I hope not his persons, but) his actions, for the Lord Jesus hath suffered by him, *Act.* 9. 3. and if the Lord Jesus himselve were present, himselve should suffer that in his owne person, which his servants witnessing his Truth doe suffer for his sake.

CHAP. XII.

Peace. **T**Heir second Conclusion is this: "It is not
 "lawfull to persecute an erroneous and
 "blinde conscience, even in fundamentall and weighty
 "points, till after admonition once or twice, *Tit.* 3.
 "11. and then such consciences may be persecuted,
 "because the Word of God is so cleare in fundamen-
 "tall and weighty points, that such a person cannot
 "but sin against his conscience, and so being con-
 "demned of himselfe, that is, of his conscience, hee
 "may be persecuted for sinning against his owne
 "conscience.

Truth. I answer, in that great battell betweene the Lord Jesus and the Devill, it is observable that Sathan takes up the weapons of Scripture, and such Scripture which in shew and colour was excellent for his purpose: but in this 3. of *Titus*, as *Salomon* speakes of the Birds of heaven, *Prov.* 1. a man may evidently see the snare; and I know the time is comming wherein it shall bee said, Surely in vaine the Net is laid in the fight of the Saints (heavenly Birds.)

So palpably grosse and thicke is the mist and fog which Sathan hath raised about this Scripture, that he that can but see men as trees in matters of Gods worship, may easily discern what a wonderfull deepe sleepe Gods people are fallen into concerning the visible Kingdome of Christ, in so much that this third of *Titus* which through fearfull pro- [33] phanations, hath so many hundred years been the pretended Bulwark and defence of all the bloudy Wolves, dens of Lions, and mountains of Leopards, hunting and

devouring the Witnesſes of Jeſus, ſhould now be the refuge and defence of (as I hope) the Lambes and little ones of Jeſus, yet (in this point) ſo preaching and practiſing ſo unlike to themſelves, to the Lord Jeſus, and lamentably too like to His and their Perſecutors.

CHAP. XIII.

Peace. **B**Right *Truth*, ſince this place of *Titus* is ſuch a pretended Bulwark for perſecuting of Hereticks, & under that pretence of perſecuting all thy followers, I beſeech you by the bright beames of the Sun of Righteouſneſſe, ſcatter theſe miſts, and unfold theſe particulars out of the Text :

Fiſt, What this Man is that is an Hereticke.

Secondly, How this Hereticke is condemned of himſelfe.

Thirdly, What is this fiſt and ſecond Admonition, and by whom it is ſuppoſed to be given.

Fourthly, What is this rejecting of Him, and by whom it is ſuppoſed this Rejection was to be made.

Truth. Fiſt, What is this Heretick? I find him commonly defined to be ſuch an one as is obſtinate in Fundamentalls, and ſo alſo I conceive the Answerer ſeems to recent¹ him, ſaying, That the Apoſtle renders this reaſon, why after once and twice Admonition, he ought to be perſecuted, becauſe in fundamentall and principall points of Doctrin and Worſhip, the

What is
meant by
Hereticke
in *Titus*.

¹ *Reſent*, which in its earlier meaning carried the idea of its Latin root,—to perceive, to feel, to regard. For inſtances, ſee Richardson, *Dictionary*, Trench, *Gloſſary of Engliſh Words*, &c., p. 170.

Word of God is so cleare, that the Hereticke cannot but be convinced in his owne Conscience.

But of this reason, I finde not one tittle mentioned in this Scripture; for although he saith such an one is condemned of himselfe, yet he saith not, nor will it follow that fundamentalls are so cleare, that after first and second Admonition, a person that submits not to them is condemned of himself, any more then in lesser points. This 11 verse hath reference to the former verses. *Titus* an Evangelist, a Preacher of glad Newes, abiding here with the Church of Christ at Creet, is required by *Paul* to avoid, to reject, and to teach the Church to reject Genealogies, disputes, and unprofitable questions about the Law: Such a like charge it is as he gave to *Timothy*, left also an Evangelist at Ephesus, 1 *Tim.* 1. 4.

34] If it should be objected what is to be done to such contentious, vain strivers about Genealogies and questions unprofitable? The Apostle seems plainly to answer, Let him be once and twice admonished.

Ob. Yea, but what if once and twice admonition prevaile not?

The Apostle seems to answer, ἀρετίζον άνθρωπον, and that is, the man that is willfully obstinate after such once and twice admonition, Reject him.

With this Scripture agrees that of 1 *Tim.* 6. 4, 5. where *Timothy* is commanded to withdraw himselfe from such who dote about questions and strife of words.

All which are points of a lower and inferiour nature, not properly falling within the tearms or notions of those (ζουχέια) first principles and (θεμελίους)

foundations of the Christian Profession, to wit, Repentance from dead workes, Faith towards God, the doctrine of Baptismes, and of laying on of hands, the Resurrection, and eternall Judgement, *Heb. 6. 2.* &c.

Concerning these Fundamentalls (although nothing is so little in the Christian Worship, but may be referred to one of these six, yet) doth not *Paul* to *Timothy* or *Titus* speake in those places by me alledged, or of any of these, as may evidently appeare by the context and scope?

The beloved Spouse of Christ is no receptacle for any filthy person, obstinate in any filthynesse against the purity of the Lord Jesus, who hath commanded his people to purge out the old leaven, not only greater portions, but a little leaven which will leaven the whole lump; and therefore this Hereticke or obstinate person in these vaine and unprofitable questions, was to be rejected, as well as if his obstinacie had been in greater matters.

Againe, if there were a doore or window left open to vaine and unprofitable questions, and sinnes of smaller nature, how apt are persons to cover with a filken covering, and to say, Why, I am no *Hereticke* in *Fundamentalls*, spare me in this or that *little* one; The word Hereticke generally mistaken. this or that *opinion* or *practice*, these are of an inferiour *circumstantiall* nature? &c.

So that the *coherence* with the former verses, and the *scope* of the *Spirit of God* in this and other like *Scriptures* being carefully observed, this *Greek* word *Hereticke* is no more in true *English* and in Truth, then an *obstinate* or *wilfull* person in the *Church* of

Creet, striving and contending about those unprofitable *Questions* and *Genealogies*, &c. and is not such a *monster* intended in this place, as most *Interpreters* run upon, to with, [wit] One *obstinate* in *Fundamentalls*,¹ and as the *Answerer* makes the [35] *Apostle* to write in such *Fundamentalls* and *principall points*, wherein the Word of God is so cleare that a man cannot but be convinced in *conscience*, and therefore is not persecuted for matter of *conscience*, but for sinning against his *conscience*.

CHAP. XIV.

Peace. **N**OW in the second place, What is this *Self-condemnation*?

Truth. The *Apostle* seemeth to make this a ground of the *rejecting* of such a person, because he is *subverted* and *sinneth*, being *condemned* of himselfe: It will appeare upon due search that this *selfe-condemning* is not here intended to be in Hereticks (as men say) in fundamentalls only, but as it is meant here, in men obstinate in the lesser *Questions*, &c.

First, he is *subverted* or turned crooked, ἐξέστραται, a word opposite to *streightnesse* or *rightnesse*: So that the scope is, as I conceive, upon true and faithfull *admonition* once or twice, the pride of *heart*, or heat

¹ The best recent commentators sustain Williams in this view. "The term αἰρέσεις occurs but twice in St. Paul's Epistles. In neither case does the word seem to imply specially 'the open espousal of any fundamental error,' but more generally, 'divisions in church matters,' possibly, of a somewhat matured

kind. Thus then, αἰρετικός ἄνθρωπος will here be one who gives rise to such divisions by erroneous teaching, not necessarily of a fundamentally heterodox nature, but of the kind just described, verse 9." Bishop Ellicott, *Commentary on Pastoral Epistles*, in loco.

of *wrath*, drawes a *vaile* over the *eyes* and *heart*, so that the *soule* is turned loofed and¹ from the checks of *truth*.

Secondly, he *finneth*, ἀμαρτάνει, that is, being *subverted* or turned aside; he *finneth* or wanders from the path of *Truth*, and is *condemned* by *himselfe* αὐτοαδικαίσιμος, that is, by the *secreet checks* and *whisperings* of his *owne conscience*, which will take *Gods* part against a *mans selfe*, in *siniting*, *accusing*, &c. Checks
of con-
science.

Which checks of *conscience* we finde even in *Gods* owne dear people, as is most admirably opened in the 5 of *Cant.* in those sad, drowfie and unkinde *passages* of the *Spouse* in her *answer* to the *knocks* and *calls* of the *Lord Jesus*; which *Gods* people in all their awakening acknowledge how sleightly they have listned to the checks of their owne *consciences*. This the *Answerer* pleaseth to call sinning against his *conscience*, for which he may lawfully be persecuted, to wit, for sinning against his *conscience*.

Which *conclusion* (though painted over with the *vermillion* of *mistaken Scripture*, and that *old dreame* of *Jew* and *Gentile*, that the *Crowne* of *Jesus* will consist of outward *materiall gold*, and his *sword* be made of *iron* or *steele*, executing judgement in his *Church* and *Kingdome* by *corporall punishment*) I hope (by the assistance of the *Lord Jesus*) to manifest it to be the overturning and rooting up the very *foundation* and [36] *roots* of all true *Christianity*, and absolutely denying the *Lord Jesus* the Great *Anointed* to be yet come in the *Flesh*.

¹ “And” should precede “loofed.”

CHAP. XV.

THis will appeare, if we examine the two last *Quæries* of this place of *Titus*: to wit,
 First, What this *Admonition* is?
 Secondly, What is the *Rejection* here intended?
Reject him.

What is
 the first &
 second ad-
 monition.

First then, *Titus*, unto whom this *Epistle* & these *directions* were written, (and in him to all that succeed him in the like work of the *Gospel* to the Worlds end) he was no *Minister* of the *Civill State*, armed with the *majestie* and *terroure* of a *materiall sword*, who might for *offences* against the *civill state*, inflict *punishments* upon the *bodies* of men, by *imprisonments*, *whippings*, *fines*, *banishment*, *death*. *Titus* was a *Minister* of the *Gospel* or *Glad tidings*, armed onely with the *Spirituell sword* of the *Word of God*, and such *Spirituell weapons* as (yet) through *God* were mighty to the casting down of *strong holds*, yea every *high thought* of the *highest head* and *heart* in the world, 2 Cor. 10. 4.

What the
 rejecting
 of the
 Heretick
 was.

Therefore these first and second *Admonitions* were not *civill* or *corporall* punishments on mens *persons* or *purses*, which the *Courts* of Men may lawfully inflict upon *Malefactors*: but they were the *reprehensions*, *convictions*, *exhortations*, and *perswasions* of the *Word* of the *Eternall God*, charged home to the *Conscience*, in the name and presence of the *Lord Jesus*, in the midst of the *Church*. Which being despised and not hearkned to, in the last place followes *rejection*; which is not a *cutting off* by *heading*, *hanging*, *burning*, &c. or an *expelling* of the *Country*

and *Coasts*: neither [of] which (no nor any leffer *civill* Corporall punishment) *Titus* nor the Church at *Crete* had any killing in the Law, power to exercise. But it was that dreadfull cutting typing out off from that visible *Head* and *Body*, *Chrift* *Iesus* and Spirituall killing by his *Church*; that *purging* out of the *old leaven* from Excommunication by the *lumpe* of the *Saints*; the putting away of the killing in the *evill* and wicked person from the holy *Land* and *Commonwealth* of *Gods Israel*, 1 Cor. 5. where it is observable, that the same word used by *Moses* for putting a malefactor to *death* in typicall *Israel*, by *sword*, *stoning*, &c. Deut. 13. 5. is here used by *Paul* for the *spirituall killing* or *cutting off* by *Excommunication*, 1 Cor. 5. 13. Put away that evill person, &c.

Now I desire the Answerer, and any, in the holy awe and feare of *God* to consider, That

37] From whom the *first* and *second Admonition* was to proceed, from them also was the *rejeſting* or casting out to proceed, as before.

But not from the *Civill Magistrate* (to whom *Paul* writes not this *Epistle*, and who also is not bound once and twice to admonish, but may speedily punish, as he sees cause, the persons or purſes of *Delinquents* against his *Civill State* :) but from *Titus* the *Minister* or *Angel* of the *Church*, and from the *Church* with him, were these *first* and *second Admonitions* to proceed; And

Therefore at last also this *Rejeſting*, which can be no other but a *caſting* out, or *excommunicating* of him from their *Church-ſocietie*.

Indeed, this *rejeſting* is no other then that *avoyding* which *Paul* writes of to the *Church* of *Chriſt* at *Rome*, Rom. 16. 17. which avoyding (however woefully

perverted by some to prove persecution) belonged to the *Governours of Christs Church & Kingdome in Rome*, and not to the *Romane Emperour* for him to rid and avoyd the *World* of them, by bloody and cruell *Persecution*.

CHAP. XVI.

The third
Conclusio
discussed.

Sathans
policie.

The An-
swerer
granteth a
Tolera-
tion.

Patience
to be used
toward
the oppo-
site.

Peace. **T**He third Conclusion is; In points of lesser moment, there ought to be a *Toleration*.

Which though I acknowledge to be the Truth of *God*, yet 3 things are very observable in the manner of laying it down; for *Sathan* useth excellent *arrowes* to bad *markes*, and sometimes beyond the *intent*, and hidden from the eye of the *Archer*.

First (saith he) such a person is to be tolerated, till *God* may be pleased to reveale his Truth to him.

Truth. This is well observed by you; for indeed this is the very *ground* why the *Apostle* calls for meeke-nesse and gentlenesse toward *all* men, and toward such as oppose themselves, 2 *Tim.* 2. because there is a *peradventure* or *it may be*; *It may be* *God* may give them *Repentance*. That *God* that hath shewen *mercy* to one, may shew *mercy* to another: It may be that *eye-salve* that anointed *one mans* eye who was *blinde* and opposite, may anoint another as *blinde* and opposite: He that hath given *Repentance* to the *husband*, may give it to his *wife*, &c.

Hence that *Soule* that is lively and sensible of *mercy* received to it selfe in former *blindnesse*, opposition and enmitie against *God*, cannot but be patient and gentle toward the *Jewes*, who yet deny the *Lord Jesus*

38] to be come, and justifie their *Fore-fathers* in murdering of him: Toward the *Turkes*, who acknowledge *Christ* a great *Prophet*, yet affirme [him] lesse than *Mabomet*. Yea to all the severall sorts of *Antichristians*, who set up many a *false Christ* in stead of him. And lastly to the *Pagans* and *wildest* sorts of the sons of men, who have not yet heard of the *Father*, nor the *Son*. And to all these sorts, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, *Antichristians*, *Pagans*, when they oppose the light presented to them; In sense of its own former opposition, and that *God* peradventure may at last give *repentance*: I adde, such a Soule will not onely be patient, but earnestly and constantly pray for all sorts of men, that out of them *Gods* elect may be called to the fellowship of *Christ Jesus*. And lastly, not only pray, but endeavour (to its utmost abilitie) their participation of the same *grace* and *mercy*.

The carriage of a Soule sensible of mercy, toward other sinners in their blindness and opposition.

That great *Rock* upon which so many gallant Ships miscarrie, viz. That such persons, false *Prophets*, *Hereticks*, &c. were to be put to death in *Israel*, I shall (with *Gods* assistance) remove: as also that fine filken covering of the *Image*, viz. that such persons ought to be put to death or banished, to prevent the infecting and seducing of others, I shall (with *Gods* assistance) in the following discourse pluck off.

Secondly, I observe from the Scriptures he quoteth for this *Toleration*, (*Phil.* 3. & *Rom.* 14.) how closely, yet I hope unadvisedly, he makes the *Churches* of *Christ* at *Philippi* and *Rome*, all one with the Cities *Philippi* and *Rome*, in which the *Churches* were, and to whom onely *Paul* wrote. As if what these *Churches* in *Philippi* and *Rome* must tolerate amongst them-

The Answerer confounds the Churches in *Philippi* and *Rome* with the Cities *Phi-*

lippi and
Rome.

selves, that the Cities *Philippi* and *Rome* must tolerate in their *citizens*: and what these *Churches* must not tolerate, that these Cities *Philippi* and *Rome* must not tolerate within the compasse of the City, State and Jurisdiction.

Truth. Upon that ground, by undeniable consequence, these Cities *Philippi* and *Rome* were bound not to tolerate themselves, that is, the Cities and Citizens of *Philippi* and *Rome*, in their own Civill life and being, but must kill or expell themselves from their own Cities, as being Idolatrous *worshippers* of other gods then the true *God* in *Jesus Christ*.

Differ-
ence be-
tween the
Church
and the
World.

But as the *Lilie* is amongst the *Thornes*, so is Christs *Love* among the *Daughters*: and as the *Apple-tree* among the *Trees* of the *Forrest*, so is her *Beloved* among the *Sons*: so great a difference is there between the *Church* in a Citie or Country, and the *Civill state*, *City* or Country in which it is.

39] No lesse then (as *David* in another case, *Psal.* 103. as far as the *Heavens* are from the *Earth*) are they that are truly *Christs* (that is, anointed truly with the Spirit of *Christ*) [different] from many thousands who love not the *Lord Iesus Christ*, and yet are and must be permitted in the World or Civill State, although they have no right to enter into the gates of *Jerusalem* the *Church* of *God*.

The
Church
and Civill
State con-
fusedly
made all
one.

And this is the more carefully to bee minded, because when ever a *toleration* of others *Religion* and *Conscience* is pleaded for, such as are (I hope in truth) *zealous* for *God*, readily produce plenty of *Scriptures* written to the *Church*, both before and since *Christs* comming, all commanding and pressing the putting

forth of the *uncleane*, the cutting off the *obstinate*, the purging out the *Leaven*, rejecting of *Hereticke*s. As if because *briars*, *thornes*, and *thistles* may not be in the *Garden* of the *Church*, therefore they must all bee pluckt up out of the *Wildernesse*: whereas he that is a *Briar*, that is, a *Jew*, a *Turke*, a *Pagan*, an *Anti-christian* to day, may be (when the Word of the *Lord* runs freely) a member of *Jesus Christ* to morrow cut out of the wilde *Olive*, and planted into the true.

Peace. Thirdly, from this *toleration* of persons but holding *lesser errours*, I observe the *unmercifulnesse* of such *doctrines* and *hearts*, as if they had forgotten the *Blessednesse*, *Blessed* are the mercifull, for they shall obtaine mercy, *Math. 5*. He that is sleightly and but a little hurt, shall be *suffered*, and meanes vouchsafed for his *cure*: But the deepe wounded *sinner*s, and *leprous*, *ulcerous*, and those of *bloudy issues* twelve yeares together, and those which have been bowed down 38. years of their *life*, they must not be suffered untill peradventure God may give them *repentance*; but either it is not lawfull for a *godly Magistrate* to rule and governe such a people (as some have said) or else if they be under *government*, and reforme not to the *State Religion* after the first and second *admonition*, the *Civill Magistrate* is bound to persecute, &c.

Truth. Such persons have need, as *Paul* to the *Romanes*, Chap. 12. 1. to be besought by the mercy of God to put on *bowels of mercy* toward such as have neither wronged them in *body* or *goods*, and therefore justly should not be punished in their *goods* or persons.

Persecu-
tors have
forgotten
the blef-
sednesse
promised
to the
mercifull,
Math. 5.

CHAP. XVII.

Peace. I Shall now trouble you (deare Truth) but with one conclusion more, which is this: *viz.* That if a man hold forth error with [40] a *boysterous* and *arrogant* spirit, to the disturbance of the civill Peace, he ought to be punished, &c.

Truth. To this I have spoken too, confessing that if any man commit ought of those things which *Paul* was accused of (*Act.* 25. 11.) he ought not to be spared, yea he ought not, as *Paul* saith, in such cases to refuse to dye.

What persons are guilty of breach of civil peace

But if the *matter* be of another *nature*, a spirituall and divine *nature*, I have written before in many cases, and might in many more, that the *Worship* which a State professeth may bee *contradicted* and *preached* against, and yet no breach of *Civill Peace*. And if a *breach* follow, it is not made by such *doctrines*, but by the boysterous and violent opposers of them.

The most peaceable wrongfully accused of peace-breaking.

Such persons onely breake the *Cities* or *Kingdomes* peace, who cry out for *prison* and *swords* against such who crosse their *judgement* or *practice* in *Religion*. For as *Josephs* mistris accused *Joseph* of *uncleannessse*, and calls out for civill violence against him, when *Joseph* was chaste, and her *selfe* guilty: So commonly the meeke and *peaceable* of the earth are traduced as *rebells*, *factious*, *peace-breakers*, although they deale not with the *State* or *State-matters*, but *matters* of *divine* and *spirituall* nature, when their *traducers* are the onely *unpeaceable*, and guilty of *breach* of *Civill Peace*.

Peace. We are now come to the second part of the *Answer*, which is a particular examination of such grounds as are brought against such persecution.

The first sort of grounds are from the *Scriptures*.

CHAP. XVIII.

First, *Matth.* 13. 30, 38. because *Christ* commandeth to let alone the *Tares* to grow up together with the *Wheat*, untill the *Harvest*.

Unto which he answereth: That *Tares* are not *Bryars* and *Thornes*, but partly *Hypocrites*, like unto the godly, but indeed carnall (as the *Tares* are like to *Wheat*, but are not *Wheat*,) or partly such corrupt doctrines or practices as are indeed unsound, but yet such as come very near the truth (as *Tares* do to the *Wheat*) and so neer that good men may be taken with them, and so the persons in whom they grow cannot bee rooted out, but good *Wheat* will be rooted out with them. In such a case (saith he) *Christ* calleth for peaceable toleration, and not for penall prosecution, according to the third Conclusion.

41] *Truth.* The substance of this *Answer* I conceive to be first negative, that by *Tares* are not meant persons of another Religion and Worship, that is (saith he) they are not *Briars* and *Thornes*.

Secondly, affirmative, by *Tares* are meant either persons, or doctrines, or practices; persons, as hypocrites, like the godly: doctrines or practices corrupt, yet like the truth.

For answer hereunto I confesse that not onely those worthy witnesses (whose memories are sweet with all

that feare God) *Calvin*,¹ *Beza*, &c. but of later times many conjoyne with this worthy *Answerer*, to satisfie themselves and others with such an *Interpretation*.

The Answerer barely affirming a most strange interpretation.

But alas, how darke is the foule left that desires to walke with God in holy feare and trembling, when in such a waighty and mighty point as this is, that in matters of *conscience* concerneth the spilling of the *bloud of thousands*, and the *Civill Peace* of the *World* in the taking up *Armes* to suppress all false *Religions*! when I say no *evidence* or *demonstration* of the *Spirit* is brought to prove such an *interpretation*, nor *Arguments* from the place it selfe or the Scriptures of truth to confirme it; but a bare Affirmation that these *Tares* must signifie *persons*, or *doctrines* and *practices*.

Sathans subtiltie about the opening of Scripture.

I will not imagine any deceitfull purpose in the Answerers thoughts in the proposall of these three, *persons*, *doctrines*, or *practices*, yet dare I confidently avouch that the *Old Serpent* hath deceived their precious soules, and by *Tongue* and *Pen* would deceive

¹ "Quare hic meo iudicio simplex est parabolæ scopus. Quamdiu in hoc mundo peregrinatur Ecclesia, bonis et sinceris in ea permixtos fore malos et hypocritas, ut se patientia arment filii Dei, et inter offendicula, quibus turbari possent, retineant infractam fidei constantiam. Est autem aptissima comparatio, quum Dominus Ecclesiam vocat agrum suum, quia ejus semen sunt fideles. Quanquam autem Christus postea subjicit, mundum esse agrum dubium tamen non est, quin proprie hoc nomen ad Ecclesiam aptare voluerit, de qua exorsus fuerat sermonem. Sed quoniam passim aratrum suum ducturus erat per omnes mundi plagas, ut sibi agros excoleret in toto mundo ac spar-

get vitæ semen, per synecdochen ad mundum transtulit, quod parti tantum magis quadrabat. Nunc videndum est, quid per *triticum* intelligat, et quid per *zizania*. Non potest hic de doctrina exponi, quasi dixisset, ubi seminatur Evangelium, statim corrumpi et adulterari pravis figmentis: nunquam enim vetuisset Christus, in tali corruptela purganda strenue fatigare. Neque enim ut in hominum moribus, quæ corrigi nequeunt vitia, tolerari oportet, ita liceret impios errores ferre, qui fidei puritatem inficiunt. Deinde nominatim Christus filios maligni zizania esse dicens dubitationem tollit." *Johannis Calvini Commentarii*, ii, 14, ed. A. Tholuck.

the foules of others by such a *method* of dividing the word of *truth*. A threefold *Cord*, and so a threefold *Snare* is strong, and too like it is that one of the three, either *Persons*, *Doctrines*, or *Practices* may catch some feet.

CHAP. XIX.

Peace. **T**HE place then being of such great importance as concerning the *truth of God*, the *bloud of thousands*, yea the bloud of *Saints*, and of the *Lord Jesus* in them, I shall request your more diligent search (by the Lords holy assistance) into this Scripture.¹ [*Truth.*] I shall make it evident, that by these Tares in this Parable are meant *persons* in respect of their *Religion* and way of *Worship*, open and *visible professors*, as bad as *briars* and *thornes*; not onely suspected *Foxes*, but as bad as those *greedy Wolves* which *Paul* speakes of, *Acts* 20. who with perverse and evill *doctrines* labour spiritually to devour the *flocke*, and to draw away Disciples after them, whose mouthes must be stopped, and yet no carnall

¹ This parable, to which so much importance is here ascribed, ten chapters being devoted to it, has for ages been the battle-ground of a controversy to which this between Williams and Cotton is allied. The Donatists who were the Separatists of the fourth and fifth centuries, held with Williams, and all who contend for the entirely spiritual and regenerate character of the churches, that, as our Lord says, "the field" is not the *Church* but the *world*, and that it is no reason for receiving or allowing ungodly men in the church because they

were not to be rooted out of the world. Trench, *Notes on the Parables*, p. 74; Neander, *Church History*, ii: 205, 207. Williams however turns it here not to the decision of the question of church-discipline, but against the use of civil force with such. He was strict and exclusive in regard to toleration even of such as observed "popish Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and other superstitious popish festivals," (p. 42,) but liberal for all outside of the church and not voluntarily under its discipline.

42] *force* or *weapon* to be used against them, but their *mischiefe* to bee resisted with those mighty *weapons* of the holy *Armoury* of the *Lord Iesus*, wherein there hangs a *thousand shields*, *Cant. 4.*

That the *Lord Iesus* intendeth not *doctrines* or *practices* by the *tares* in this Parable is cleare: for

First, the *Lord Iesus* expressly interpreteth the *good seed* to be *persons*, and those the children of the *Kingdome*; and the *tares* also to signifie *Men*, and those the *children* of the *Wicked one*, *ver. 38.*

Toleration in
Rom. 14.
confid-
ered.

Secondly, such corrupt *doctrines* or *practices* are not to bee tolerated now as those *Iewish* observations (the *Lords owne Ordinances*) were for a while to be permitted, *Rom. 14.* Nor so long as till the *Angels the Reapers* come to reape the Harvest in the end of the *world*. For can we thinke that because the tender Consciences of the *Iewes* were to be tendred in their *differences* of *meats*, that therefore persons must now bee tolerated in the *Church* (for I speake not of the *Civill State*) and that to the worlds end, in superstitious forbearing and forbidding of *flesh* in *Popish Lents*, and *superstitious Fridayes*, &c. and that because they were to be tendred in their observation of *Iewish Holidayes*, that therefore untill the *Harvest* or *Worlds end*, persons must now be tolerated (I meane in the *Church*) in the observation of *Popish Christmas*, *Easter*, *Whitsontide*, and other superstitious *Popish Festivals*?

Toleratio
of Jewish
ceremo-
nies for a
time upon
some
grounds

I willingly acknowledge, that if the members of a *Church of Christ* shall upon some *delusion* of *Sathan* *kneele* at the *Lords Supper*,¹ keep *Christmas*, or any

¹ The objections of the Puritans to this practice are stated in Neal, *History of the Puritans*, i, 246, 247, Am. Ed. They were, in brief, that the Sacrament was

other Popish *observation*, great tenderneſſe ought to be uſed in winning his ſoule from the errour of his way: and yet I ſee not that perſons ſo practiſing were fit to be received into the Churches of Chriſt now, as the *Iewes* weake in the Faith, (that is, in the *Liberties of Chriſt*) were to be received, *Rom.* 14. 1. And leaſt of all (as before) that the *toleration* or *permiſſion* of ſuch ought to continue till *Doomes day*, or the end of the *world*, as this Parable urgeth the *Toleration*; Let them alone untill the *Harveſt*.

in the Jewiſh Church proves not toleration of Popiſh and Anti-chriſtian Ceremonies in the Chriſtian Church, although in the State.

CHAP. XX.

AGain, *Hypocrites* were not intended by the Lord *Ieſus* in this famous Parable.

Fiſt, the Originall word *ζιζάνια*, ſignifying all thoſe *Weeds* which ſpring up with the *Corne*, as *Cockle*, *Darnell*, *Tares*, &c. ſeemes to imply ſuch a kinde of people as commonly and generally are knowne to be [43] manifeſtly different from, and oppoſite to the true *worſhippers* of *God*, here called the *children* of the *Kingdom*; as theſe *weeds*, *tares*, *cockle*, *darnell*, &c. are commonly and preſently knowne by every *huſbandman* to differ from the *wheat*, and to be oppoſite, and contrary, and hurtfull unto it.

Tares proved not to ſignifie hypocrites Hence were the witneſſes of Chriſt Wickliſſ and others in H. 4. his reigne called Lollards (as ſome ſay) from *Lolia*,

not ſo received originally, the Apoſtles not kneeling when in the corporeal preſence of Chriſt; that the practice aroſe from the notion of tranſubſtantiation; that it is of “very late antiquity,” and that it is contrary to the nature of the Lord’s Supper.

It was Cotton’s reſuſal to conform to this ceremony which led to his being

informed againſt in the High Commiſſion. Neal, *Puritans*, i, 317. He ſays “When the Biſhop of Lincoln Dioceſſe (Dr. Mountaigne) offered me liberty upon once kneeling at the Sacrament with him the next Lord-day after, I durſt not accept his offer of liberty upon once kneeling.” *Way of Congregational Churches Cleared*, p. 19.

weeds
known
well
enough,
hence
taken for
figne of
barrenesse
Infelix
Lolium &
steriles dom
inantur
avenæ :¹
others con
ceive they
were so
called
from one

Lollard,²
&c. but all
Papiſts ac-
counted

Now whereas it is pleaded that these *tares* are like the *wheat*, and so like that this *conſimilitude* or likenesse is made the ground of this *interpretation*, viz. That *tares* must needs signifie *hypocrites*, or *doctrines*, or *practices*, who are like *Gods children*, *Truth*, &c.

I answer, first, The *Parable* holds forth no such thing, that the likenesse of the *tares* should deceive the servants to cause them to suppose for a time that they were good *wheat*, but that as soone as ever the *tares* appeared, ver. 26. the *servants* came to the *householder* about them, ver. 27. the Scripture holds forth no such time wherein they doubted or suspected what they were.

Peace. It may be said they did not appeare to be *tares* untill the *corne* was in the blade, and put forth its fruit.

¹ Virgil, *Georgics*, i, 154.

² "The derivation of the name from the pretended founder of a sect, Walter Lollhard, who is said to have been a German, is fabulous; that from *lolium*, darnel or cockle-weed, which stigmatizes the people themselves or their doctrine as tares among wheat, is also erroneous and unfounded. The only correct derivation, and the one of late universally accepted, is from the old German *lollen* or *lullen*—to sing softly, which last word is still common in English, mainly in "lullabies," while the German *lallen* is allied to it. The name, probably suggested by the low, suppressed singing and devotional exercises in conventicles, was coined to designate a close, religious communion of unchurchly and heretical tendencies; in this sense it came into use in popular as well as in church par-

lance. Then in Wicliffe's time, a Cistercian monk, Heinrich Grumpe, Master of Theology, applied it to Wicliffe's followers in some polemical lectures which he gave at Oxford, about the year 1382. And in the years 1387–1389, the name was already used in official episcopal documents, in such a way, however, that it is plain that it was first current as a popular expression, and was only afterward adopted into official speech; and here it received an impress in which the primary, undefined, broad meaning of Low-German origin was entirely lost, and the exclusive and specific English reference to Wicliffe's followers and to his doctrine, took its place." Herzog, *Real-encyclopädie für protestantische theologie und kirche*; Art. *Lollarden*, viii, 458.

Truth. I answer, *The one appeared as soone as the other, for so the word clearly carries it, that the seed of both having been sowne, when the *wheat* appeared and put forth its blade and fruit, the *tares* also were as early, and put forth themselves as appeared also.

them as
Tares be-
cause of
their pro-
fession.
*The false
and coun-
terfeit
Christians
appeare as
foon as the
true and
faithfull.

Secondly, there is such a *diffimilitude* or *unlikenesse*, I say such a *diffimilitude*, that as soone as *tares* and *wheat* are sprung up to blade and fruit, every *husbandman* can tell which is *wheat*, and which are *tares* and *cockle*, &c.

Peace. It may be said true: So when the *hypocrite* is manifested, then all may know him, &c. but before *hypocrites* be manifested by *fruits* they are unknowne.

[*Truth.*] I answer, search into the *Parable*, and aske when was it that the *servants* first complained of the *tares* to the *houfholder*, but when they appeared or came in sight, there being no *interim*, wherein the servants could not tell what to make of them, but doubted whether they were *wheat* or *tares*, as the Answerer implies.

Secondly, when was it that the *houfholder* gave charge to let them alone, but after that they appeared, and were known to be *tares*, which should imply by this *interpretation* of the Answerer, that when men are discovered and knowne to be *Hypocrites*, yet still such a *generation* of *Hypocrites* in the Church must be let alone and tolerated untill the *harvest* or end of the world, which is contrary to all *order*, *piety* and *safety* in the Church of the Lord *Iesus*, as doubtlesse the Answerers will grant; [44] so that these Tares being notoriously knowne to be different from the Corne, I conclude that they cannot here be intended

Hypocrit-
icall Chri-
stians.

The Tares
cannot sig-

nise Hyp- by the *Lord Jesus* to signifie secret *Hypocrites*, but
ocrites. more open and apparent Sinners.

CHAP. XXI.

Two sorts of Hypocrites:
1. In the Church as *Judas, Simon Magus* and these
The second reason why these *tares* cannot signifie
hypocrites in the Church, I take from the *Lord*
Jesus His own Interpretation of the *field* (in which
both *wheat* and *tares* are sowne, which saith he is
the *World*, out of which God chooseth and calleth
His Church.

The *World* lyes in wickednesse, is like a *Wildernesse*
or a *Sea* of wilde *Beasts* innumerable, *fornicators*, *cov-*
etous, *Idolaters*, &c. with whom Gods people may law-
fully converse and cohabit in *Cities*, *Townes*, &c. else
must they not live in the *World*, but goe out of it,
In which world as soone as ever the *Lord Jesus* had
sowne the good seed, the children of the *Kingdome*, true
Christianity, or the true Church; the Enemy *Sathan*
presently in the night of security, Ignorance and Errour
(whilest men slept) sowed also these *tares* which are
Antichristians or false *Christians*. These strange Pro-
fessours of the Name of *Jesus*, the *Ministers* and
Prophets of God,¹ beholding they are ready to runne
to *Heaven* to fetch fiery judgements from thence to
consume these strange *Christians*, and to pluck them
by the roots out of the world: But the Son of Man,
the meek Lamb of God (for the *Elect* sake which must
be gathered out of Jew and Gentile, Pagan, Anti-
christian) commands a permission of them in the
World, untill the time of the end of the *World*, when

¹ Let the comma follow "beholding," and dele the comma after "Jesus."

the *Goats* and *Sheep*, the *Tares* and *Wheat* shall be eternally separated each from other.

Peace. You know some excellent *Worthies* (dead and living) have laboured to turne this *Field* of the *World* into the *Garden* of the *Church*.

Truth. But who can imagine that the *Wisdom* of the *Father*, the *Lord Jesus Christ*, would so open this *Parable* (as He professedly doth) as that it should be close shut up, and that one *difficulty* or *locke* should be opened by a greater and harder, in calling the *World* the *Church*? contrary also to the way of the *Light* and *Love* that is in *Jesus*, when he would purposely teach and instruct His scholars [; also] contrary to the nature of *Parables* and *similitudes*.

And lastly, to the nature of the *Church* or *Garden* of *Christ*.

CHAP. XXII.

IN the former *Parable* the *Lord Jesus* compared the *Kingdome* of *Heaven* to the sowing of *Seed*. The true *Messengers* of *Christ* are the [45] *Sowers*, who cast the *Seed* of the *Word* of the *Kingdome* upon foure *sorts* of ground, which foure *sorts* of ground or *hearts* of men, cannot be supposed to be of the *Church*, nor will it ever be proved that the *Church* consisteth of any more *sorts* or natures of ground properly, but *one*, to wit, the *honest* and *good* ground, and the proper worke of the *Church* concernes the flourishing and prosperity of this sort of ground, and not the other *unconverted* three *sorts*, who it may be seldome or never come neare the *Church* unlessse they be forced

The Field by most, generally, but falsely interpreted the Church.

The Lord Iesus the great teacher by Parables, and the only expounder of them.

The scope of the Parable. Fouresorts of ground or hearers of the word in the world and but one properly in the Church, the rest seldome come or accidentally hear

the word by the *Civill sword*, which the *patterne* or first *sowers* in the Church, never used, and being forced they are put into a way which of *Religion* by such a course, if not so, they are forced word ought to be fitted to live without a *Religion*, for one of the two must be fitted necessarily follow, as I shall prove afterward.

In the *field* of the *World* then are all those *sorts* of feeding of the Church or hearers, as well as the *honest* and good ground; and flocke: I suppose it will not now be said by the Answerer, preaching for conversion is that those three sorts of *bad* grounds were *hypocrites* or *tares* in the *Church*.

Now after the Lord *Jesus* had propounded that properly out of the Church. great *leading Parable* of the *Sower* and the *Seed*, He is pleased to propound this *Parable* of the *Tares*, with admirable *coherence* and sweet *consolation* to the honest and good ground, who with glad and honest hearts having received the *word* of the *Kingdome*, may yet seem to be discouraged and troubled with so many *Anticristians* and false *Professours* of the *Name* of *Christ*. The Lord *Jesus* therefore gives *direction* concerning these *tares*, that unto the end of the World successively in all the *sorts* and *generations* of them they must be (not approved or countenanced, but) let alone or *permitted* in the *World*.

The Lord *Jesus* in this *Parable* of the *Tares* gives *direction* and *consolation* to His servants. Secondly, he gives to His owne good *seed* this *consolation*, that those heavenly *Reapers* the *Angells* in the *harvest* or end of the *World*, will take an order and course with them, to wit, they shall binde them into *bundles*, and cast them into the *everlasting burnings*, and to make the cup of their *consolation* run over: He addes vers. 4. Then, then at that time shall the *Righteous* shine as the *Sun* in the *Kingdome* of their *Father*.

These *tares* then neither being erroneous *doctrines*, nor corrupt *practises*, nor *hypocrites* in the true *Church* intended by the Lord *Jesus* in this Parable; I shall in the third place (by the helpe of the same Lord *Jesus*) evidently prove that these *tares* can be no other sort of sinners, but false *worshippers*, *Idolaters*, and in particular properly, *Antichristians*.

The Tares proved properly to signifie Antichristians.

46]

CHAP. XXIII.

First then, these Tares are such sinners as are opposite and contrary to the *children* of the *Kingdome* visibly so declared and manifest, ver. 38. Now the *Kingdome* of *God* below, is the *visible Church* of *Christ* *Jesus*, according to *Matth.* 8. 12. The children of the *Kingdome* which are threatned to be cast out, seeme to be the *Jewes*, which were then the onely *visible Church* in Covenant with the Lord, when all other *Nations* followed other *gods* and *worships*. And more plaine is that fearefull *threatning*, *Matth.* 21. 43. The *Kingdome* of *God* shall be taken from you, and given to a *Nation* that will bring forth the fruits thereof.

Math. 8. 12.
Math. 21. 43.
Gods kingdome on Earth the visible Church.

Such then are the *good seed*, *good wheat*, *children* of the *Kingdome*, as are the *disciples*, *members* and *subjects* of the Lord *Jesus Christ* his *Church* & *Kingdom*: and therefore consequently such are the *tares*, as are opposite to these, *Idolaters*, *Will-worshippers*, not truly but falsely submitting to *Jesus*: and in especiall, the children of the *wicked* one, visibly so appearing. Which wicked one I take not to be the *Devill*; for the Lord *Jesus* seemes to make them distinct:

The difference between the

Wheat & the Tares, as also between these Tares and all other. He that sowes the good feed (saith he) is the *Son of man*, the *field* is the *World*, the good feed are the *Children of the Kingdome*, but the *Tares* are the *children of the wicked*, or wickednesse, the *enemy* that sowed them, is the *Devill*.

The Originall here, τῷ ποιηρῷ, agrees with that, *Luk. 11. 4.* Deliver us, ἀπο τοῦ ποιηρῷ, from evill or wickednesse; opposite to the children of the *Kingdome* and the *righteousnesse* thereof.

CHAP. XXIV.

Peace. IT is true, that all *drunkards, thieves, uncleane persons, &c.* are opposite to *Gods children*.

Truth. Answ. Their opposition here against the *children of the Kingdome*, is such an opposition as properly fights against the *Religious state* or *Worship of the Lord Jesus Christ*.

Secondly, it is manifest, that the Lord Jesus in this parable intends no other sort of finners, unto whom he saith, Let them alone, in *Church* or *State*; for then he should contradict other holy and blessed *ordinances* for the punishment of offenders both in *Christian* and *Civill State*.

Civill Magistracie from the beginning of the World. Offenders against the Civill lawes not First, in *Civill state*, from the beginning of the World, God hath [47] armed *Fathers, Masters, Magistrates*, to punish evill doers, that is, such of whose actions *Fathers, Masters, Magistrates* are to judge, and accordingly to punish such sinners as transgresse against the good and peace of their Civill state, *Families, Townes, Cities, Kingdomes*: their *States, Governments, Governours, Lawes, Punishments* and *Weapons*

being all of a *Civill nature*; and therefore neither *disobedience* to *parents* or *magistrates*, nor *murther* nor *quarrelling*, *uncleanesse* nor *laciuousnesse*, *stealing* nor *extortion*, neither ought of that kinde ought to be let alone, either in lesser or greater *families*, *townes*, *cities*, *kingdomes*, Rom. 13. but seasonably to be suppressed, as may best conduce to the *publike safetie*.

Againe secondly, in the *Kingdome of Christ Iesus*, Nor offenders in the Church of Christ Iesus to be whole *kingdome*, *officers*, *lawes*, *punishments*, *weapons*, are spirituall and of a Soule-nature, he will not have *Antichristian idolaters*, *extortioners*, *covetous*, &c. to be let alone, but the *uncleane* and *lepers* to be thrust forth, the old *leaven* purged out, the *obstinate* in sinne spiritually *stoned to death*, and put away from Israel; and this by many degrees of gentle *admonition* in *private* and *publique*, as the case requires.

Therefore if neither *offenders* against the *civill Lawes*, *State* and *peace* ought to be let alone; nor the *Spirituall estate*, the *Church* of *Iesus Christ* ought to beare with them that are *evill*, Revel. 2. I conclude, that these are finners of another nature, *Idolaters*, *False-worshippers*, *Antichristians*, who without discouragement to true Christians must be let alone and permitted in the world to grow and fill up the measure of their sinnes, after the *image* of him that hath sown them, untill the great Harvest shall make the *difference*.

CHAP. XXV.

THirdly, in that the *officers* unto whom these *Tares* are referred, are the *Angels* the heavenly *Reapers* at the last day, it is cleare as the *light*, that (as before)

The great
Reapers
are the
Angels.

these *Tares* cannot signifie *Hypocrites* in the *Church*, who when they are discovered and seen to be *Tares* opposite to the good fruit of the good seed, are not to be let alone to the *Angels* at Haruest or end of the world, but purged out by the *Governors* of the *Church*, and the whole *Church* of *Christ*. Againe, they cannot be offenders against the *civill state* and Common welfare, whose dealing with is not suspended unto the comming of the *Angels*, but [is committed] unto Men, [48] who (although they know not the Lord *Iesus Christ*, yet) are lawfull *Governours* and *Rulers* in *Civill things*.

Accordingly in the 4. and last place, in that the plucking up of these *tares* out of this *field* must bee let alone unto the very *haruest* or end of the *world*, it is apparent from thence, that (as before) they could not signifie *hypocrites* in the *Church*, who when they are discovered to be so, (as these *tares* were discovered to be *tares*) are not to be suffered (after the first and second Admonition) but to be rejected, and every Brother that walketh disorderly to be withdrawen or separated from: So likewise no offendour against the *Civill state*, by *robbery*, *murther*, *adultery*, *oppression*, *sedition*, *mutinie*, is for ever to be connived at, and to enjoy a perpetuall *toleration* unto the *Worlds end*, as these *tares* must.

The Tares
to be toler-
ated the
longest of
any sin-
ners.

Moses for a while held his peace against the *sedition* of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. *David* for a season tolerated *Shimei*, *Joab*, *Adonijah*; but till the *Haruest* or end of the World, the Lord never intended that any but these *spirituall* and *mysticall Tares* should be so permitted.

CHAP. XXVI.

NOW if any imagine that the time or date is long, that in the meane season they may doe a *world* of mischiefe before the *Worlds end*, as by infection, &c.

The danger of infection by these tares affoyled.

Truth. First, I answer, that as the *civill State* keepes it selfe with a *civill Guard*, in case these *Tares* shall attempt ought against the *peace* and *welfare* of it, let such *civill offences* be punished, and yet as *Tares* opposite to *Christs Kingdome*, let their *Worship* and *Consciencs* be tolerated.

Lamentable experience hath proved this true of late in Europe, and lamentably true

Secondly, the *Church* or *spirituall State*, *City*, or *Kingdome* hath *lawes*, and *orders*, and *armories*, (whereon there hang a thousand *Bucklers*, *Cant.* 4.) *Weapons* and *Ammunition*, able to break down the strongest *Holds*, 1 *Cor.* 10. and so to defend it selfe against the very *Gates* of *Earth* or *Hell*.

in the slaughter of some hundred thousands of the English.

Thirdly, the *Lord* himself knows who are his, & his *foundation* remaineth sure, his *Elect* or chosen cannot perish nor be finally deceived.

Lastly, the *Lord Iesus* here in this Parable layes downe two *Reasons*, able to content and satisfie our *hearts*, to beare patiently this their *contradiction* and *Antichristianity*, and to permit or let them alone.

First, let the good Wheat bee pluckt up and rooted up also out of this *Field* of the *World*, [:] if such *combustions* and *fightings* were, as to pluck up all the false professours of the name of *Christ*, the *good wheat* also 49] would enjoy little peace, but be in danger to bee pluckt up and torne out of this world by such bloody *stormes* and *tempests*.

And therefore as *Gods people* are commanded, *Ier.* 29. to pray for the peace of *materiall Babell*, wherein they were captivated, and *1 Tim.* 2. to pray for all men, and specially *Kings and Governors*, that in the peace of the *civill State* they may have peace.[:] So contrary to the opinion and practice of most (drunke with the Cup of the *Whores fornication*) yea, and of *Gods owne people* fast asleepe in *Antichristian Dalilabs* laps, *obedience* to the command of *Christ* to let the *tares* alone, will prove the onely meanes to preserve their *Civill Peace*, and that without obedience to this command of *Christ*, it is impossible (without great transgression against the *Lord* in carnall policy, which will not long hold out) to preserve the *civill* peace.

Beside, *Gods people* the good *Wheat* are generally pluckt up and persecuted, as well as the vilest idolaters, whether *Jewes* or *Antichristians*, which the *Lord Iesus* seemes in this *Parable* to foretell.

The great
& dread-
full Har-
vest.

The second *Reason* noted in the *Parable* which may satisfie any man from wondring at the *patience* of *God*, is this: when the *world* is ripe in sinne, in the sinnes of *Antichristianisme* (as the *Lord* spake of the sinnes of the *Amorites*, *Gen.* 12.) then those holy and mighty *Officers* and *Executioners*, the *Angels*, with their sharpe and cutting *sickles* of eternall vengeance, shall downe with them, and bundle them up for the *everlasting burnings*.

Then shall that *Man of Sin*, 2. *Theeff.* 2. be consumed by the breath of the mouth of the *Lord Iesus*, and all that *worship* the *Beast* and his picture, and receive his *mark* into their *forehead* or their *hands*, shall drink of the *Wine* of the *wrath* of *God* which

is poured out without mixture into the Cup of his indignation, and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy Angels, and in the presence of the Lambe, and the smoake of their torment shall ascend up for ever and ever, Rev. 14. 10. 11.

CHAP. XXVII.

Peace. **Y**OU have beene larger in vindicating this Scripture from the violence offered unto it, because as I said before, it is of such great consequence, as also because so many excellent hands have not rightly divided it, to the great misguiding of many precious feet, which [50] otherwise might have beene turned into the paths of more peaceablenesse in themselves and towards others.

Truth. I shall be briefer in the Scriptures following. Peace. Yet before you depart from this, I must crave your patience to satisfie one Objection, and that is; These servants to whom the Householder answereth, seem to be the Ministers or Messengers of the Gospel, not the Magistrates of the civill State, and therefore this charge of the Lord Jesus is not given to Magistrates to let alone false worshippers and idolaters.

Again, being spoken by the Lord Iesus to his Messengers, it seemes to concern Hypocrites in the Church, as before was spoken, and not false worshippers in the State or World.

Truth. I answer, first, I beleeve I have sufficiently and abundantly proved, that these tares are not offenders in the civill State. Nor secondly, Hypocrites in

The charge of Christ Jesus, Let alone the Tares, was not spoken to Magistrates, Ministers of the civill state, but to Ministers of the Gospel. The civill Magistrate not so particularly

spoken to the *Church*, when once discovered so to bee, and as Fathers and Masters in the New Testament, and why. Secondly, I acknowledge this command [Let them Eph. 5. 6. alone] was expressly spoken to the *Messengers* or *Min-* Col. 3. 4. *isters* of the *Gospel*, who have no *civill power* or &c. *authority* in their hand, and therefore not to the *civill*

A twofold
state of
Christiani-
ty, the
persecuted
under the
Roman
Emperors,
and the
Apostate
ever since.

Magistrate, *King*, or *Governour*, to whom it pleased not the *Lord Iesus* by *himselfe* or by his *Apostles* to give particular *Rules* or *directions* concerning their *behaviour* and carriage in *Civill Magistracy*, as they have done expressly concerning the duty of *fathers*, *mothers*, *children*, *masters*, *servants*, yea and of *Subjects* towards *Magistrates*, *Ephes. 5. & 6. Colos. 3. & 4. &c.*

I conceive not the reason of this to be (as some weakly have done) because the *Lord Iesus* would not have any *followers* of his to hold the place of *civill Magistracy*, but rather that he foresaw, and the *Holy Spirit* in the *Apostles* foresaw how few *Magistrates*, either in the first persecuted, or apostated state of Christianity would imbrace his yoke: in the persecuted state, *Magistrates* hated the very name of *Christ* or *Christianity*: In the state apostate some few *Magistrates* (in their persons holy and precious, yet) as concerning their places, as they have professed to have beene *Governours* or *Heads* of the *Church*, have beene so many false *Heads*, and have constituted so many false visible *Christs*.

Thirdly, I conceive this charge of the *Lord Iesus* to his *Messengers* the *Preachers* and *Proclaimers* of his minde, is a sufficient declaration [51] of the minde

of the *Lord Iesus*, if any *civill Magistrate* should make question what were his *duty* concerning *spirituall* things.

The *Apostles*, and in them all that succeed them, being commanded not to pluck up the *Tares*, but let them alone, received from the *Lord Iesus* a threefold charge.

First, to let them alone, and not to plucke them up by prayer to *God* for their present temporall *destruction*.

Jeremie had a Commission to plant and build, to pluck up and destroy *Kingdomes*, *Ier.* 1. 10. therefore hee is commanded not to pray for that people whom *God* had a purpose to pluck up, *Ier.* 14. 11. and he plucks up the whole *Nation* by prayer, *Lament.* 3. 66. Thus *Elijah* brought fire from *heaven* to consume the *Captaines* and the *fifties*, *2 King* 1. and the *Apostles* desired also so to practise against the *Samaritanes*, *Luc.* 9. 54. but were reprov'd by the *Lord Iesus*. For contrarily, the *Saints* and *Servants* and *Churches* of *Christ* are to pray for all men, especially for all *Magistrates* (of what sort or *Religions* soever) and to seeke the peace of the *City* (what ever *City* it be) because in the peace of the place of *Gods* people have peace also, *Ier.* 29. 7. *2. Tim.* 2. &c.

Secondly, *Gods Messengers* are herein commanded not to prophesie or denounce a *present destruction* or *extirpation* of all false *professours* of the name of *Christ*, which are whole *Townes*, *Cities*, and *Kingdomes* full.

Jeremy did thus pluck up *Kingdomes* in those fearfull Prophecies hee poured forth against all the *Nations* of the *World*, throughout his Chap. 24. 25.

Christ's
Messengers receive a threefold charge in that prohibition of Christ, Let them alone.

Gods people not to pray for the present ruine and destruction of idolaters, although their persecutors, but for their peace and salvation.

26. &c. as did also the other Prophets in a measure, though none comparably to *Ieremy* and *Ezekiel*.

The word
of God
rightly de-
nounced
plucks up
kingdoms.

Such *denunciations* of present temporall *judgements* are not the *Messengers* of the *Lord Iesus* to poure forth. Tis true, many fore and fearfull *plagues* are poured forth upon the *Romane Emperours* and *Romane Popes* in the *Revelation*, yet not to their utter *extirpation* or *plucking* up untill the *Harvest*.

Gods Min-
isters are
not to
provoke
Magis-
trates to
persecute
Antichris-
tians.

Thirdly, I conceive Gods *Messengers* are charged to let them alone and not pluck them up, by exciting and stirring up Civill Magistrates, Kings, Emperours, Governours, Parliaments, or Generall Courts or Assemblies, to punish and persecute all such persons out of their Dominions and Territories, as worship not the true God according to the revealed will of God in *Christ Iesus*. Tis true, *Elijah* thus stirred up *Abab* to kill all the Priests and Prophets of *Baal*, but that was in that *figurative* state of the Land of Canaan (as I have already and shall further [52] manifest) not to be matcht or paralleld by any other *State*, but the *spirituall State* or *Church* of Christ in all the world, putting the false *Prophets* and *Idolaters* spirituallly to death by the two-edged sword and power of the *Lord Iesus*, as that *Church of Israel* did corporally.

1 Pet. 2.9.
1 Cor. 5.

Company-
ing with
idolaters,
1 Cor. 5.
discussed.

And therefore saith *Paul* expressly, 1. Cor. 5. 10. we must goe out of the world, in case we may not company in civill converse with Idolaters, &c.

Peace. It may be said, some sorts of sinners are there mentioned, as Drunkards, Raylers, Extortioners, who are to bee punished by the Civill Sword, why not Idolaters also? for although the Subject may law-

fully converse, buy and sell, and live with such, yet the *Civill Magistrate* shall neverthelesse be justly blamed in suffering of them.

Truth. I answer, the Apostle in this Scripture Lawfull
speakes not of permission of either, but expressly converse
showes the difference betweene the *Church* and the with idol-
World, and the lawfulnessse of conversation with such aters in
persons in *civill things*, with whom it is not lawfull civill, but
to have converse in *spirituals*: secretly withall fore- not in
telling, that Magistrates and People, whole States and spirituall
Kingdomes should bee Idolatrous and Antichristian, things.
yet with whom notwithstanding the Saints and
Churches of God might lawfully cohabit, and hold
civill converse and conversation.

Concerning their permission of what they judge
Idolatrous, I have and shall speake at large.

Peace. Oh how contrary unto this command of Dangerous
the *Lord Jesus* have such as have conceived them- ous and
selves the true Messengers of the *Lord Iesus*, in all unground-
ages, not let such Professours and Prophets alone, ed zeale.
whom they have judged *Tares*, but have provoked
Kings and Kingdomes (and some out of good inten-
tions and zeale to God) to prosecute and persecute
such even unto death? Amongst whom Gods people
(the *good wheat*) hath also beene pluckt up, as all
Ages and Histories testifie, and too too oft the World
laid upon bloody heapes in *civill* and *intestine desola-*
tions on this occasion. All which would bee pre-
vented, and the greatest breaches made up in the
peace of our owne or other Countries, were this com-
mand of the Lord Jesus obeyed, to wit, to let them
alone untill the Harvest.

CHAP. XXVIII.

[*Truth.*] I Shall conclude this controverſie about this *Parable* in this briefe *ſum* and *recapitulation* of what hath beene ſaid. I hope by the evident 53] demonſtration of Gods Spirit to the conſcience I have proved, Negatively,

Fiſt, that the *Tares* in this *Parable* cannot ſignifie *Doctrines* or *Practiſes* (as was affirmed) but *Perſons*.

Secondly, the *Tares* cannot ſignifie Hypocrites in the Church either undiscovered or diſcovered.

Thirdly, the *Tares* here cannot ſignifie *Scandalous Offenders* in the Church.

Fourthly, nor ſcandalous offenders in *life* and *converſation* againſt the *Civill ſtate*.

Fifthly, The field in which theſe *Tares* are ſowne, is not the *Church*.

Againe affirmatively: Fiſt, the *Field* is properly the *World*, the *Civill State* or *Common-wealth*.

Secondly, The *Tares* here intended by the Lord *Ieſus*, are *Antichriſtian idolaters*, oppoſite to the good ſeed of the *Kingdome*, true *Chriſtians*.

Thirdly, the *miniſters* or *meſſengers* of the Lord *Ieſus* ought to let them alone to live in the world, and neither ſeeke by *prayer* or *propheſie* to pluck them up before the *Harveſt*.

Fourthly, this permiſſion or ſuffering of them in the field of the *World*, is not for hurt, but for common good, even for the good of the good Wheat, the people of *God*.

Laſtly, the *patience* of *God* is, and the *patience* of *Men* ought to be exerciſed toward them, and yet

notwithstanding their *doome* is fearfull at the *harvest*, even *gathering*, *bundling*, and *everlasting burnings* by the mighty hand of the *Angels* in the end of the World.

CHAP. XXIX.

Peace. **T**He second Scripture brought against such Matth. 15. 14, the second Scripture controverted in this cause. persecution for cause of *Conscience*, is *Matth. 15. 14.* where the *Disciples* being troubled at the *Pharises* cariage toward the Lord *Jesus* and his *doctrines*, and relating how they were offended at him, the Lord *Jesus* commandeth his *Disciples* to let them alone, and gives this reason, that the *blinde* lead the *blinde*, and both should fall into the *ditch*.

Unto which, Answer is made, "That it makes "nothing to the Cause, because it was spoken to his "private *Disciples*, and not to publique Officers in "Church or State: and also, because [54] it because "it was spoken in regard of not troubling themselves, "or regarding the offence which the *Pharises* tooke.

Truth. I answer, (to passe by his *assertion* of the *privacie* of the *Apostles*) in that the Lord *Jesus* commanding to let them alone, that is, not onely not be offended themselves, but not to meddle with them; it appeares it was no *ordinance* of God nor *Christ* for the *Disciples* to have gone further, and have complained to, and excited the Civill *Magistrate* to his Christ Jesus never directed his Disciples to the civill Magistrate for duty: which if it had been an Ordinance of God and *Christ*, either for the vindicating of Christs *doctrine*, or the *recovering* of the *Pharises*, or the *pre-*

help in his
cause. *ſerving* of others from *infection*, the Lord Ieſus would never have commanded them to omit that which ſhould have tended to theſe holy ends.

CHAP. XXX.

Peace. IT may be ſaid, that neither the *Romane Cæſar* nor *Herod*, nor *Pilate* knew ought of the true *God*, or of *Chriſt*; and it had been in vaine to have made complaint to them who were not fit and *competent*, but *ignorant* and *opposite* Iudges.

Pauls ap-
pealing to
Cæſar. *Truth.* I answer firſt, this removes (by the way) that *ſtumbling block* which many fall at, to wit, *Pauls* appealing to *Cæſar*; which ſince he could not in common ſenſe doe unto *Cæſar* as a competent *Iudge* in ſuch caſes, and wherein he ſhould have alſo denied his own *Apoſtleſhip* or office, in which regard (to wit in matters of *Chriſt*) he was higher then *Cæſar* himſelfe: it muſt needs follow, that his *appeale* was meerly in reſpect of his *Civill wrongs*, and falſe accuſations of *ſedition*, &c.

Civill
Magiſ-
trates nev-
er appoin-
ted by
God, De-
fenders of
the Faith
of Ieſus.
Every one
is bound
to put
forth him-
ſelfe to his
utmoſt
power in
Gods buſi-
neſſe. Secondly, if it had been an Ordinance of *God*, that all *Civill Magiſtrates* were bound to judge in cauſes *ſpirituell* or *Chriſtian*, as to ſuppreſſe *heresies*, defend the *faith* of *Ieſus*; although that *Cæſar*, *Herod*, *Pilate* were wicked, ignorant and opposite, yet the *Disciples* and the *Lord Chriſt* himſelfe had been bound to have performed the duty of faithfull Subjects, for the preventing of further evill, and the clearing of themſelves, and ſo to have left the matter upon the *Magiſtrates* care and conſcience, by complaining unto the *Magiſtrate* againſt ſuch evils; for every perſon is

bound to goe so far as lies in his power for the preventing and the redressing of evill ; and where it stops in any, and runs not cleere, there the guilt, like filth or mud, will lie.

Thirdly, had it been the holy purpose of God to have established the [55] *doctrine* and *kingdome* of his Son this way, since his comming, he would have furnished *Common-weales*, *Kingdomes*, *Cities*, &c. then and since, with such temporall *Powers* and *Magistrates* as should have been excellently fit and competent : for he that could have had legions of Angels, if he so pleased, could as easily have been, and still be furnished with legions of good and gracious Magistrates to this end and purpose.

neffe ; &
where it
stops, the
guilt will
lie.

Christ
could have
easily been
furnished
with godly
Magif-
trates, if
he had so
appointed

CHAP. XXXI.

IT is generally said, that God hath in former rimes, and doth still, and will hereafter stirre up Kings and Queenes, &c.

I answer, that place of *Iſa.* 49. 23. will appeare to be far from proving such Kings and Queenes Iudges of Ecclesiasticall causes : and if not Iudges, they may not punish.

In Spirituall things, themselves are subject to the Church, and censures of it, although in Civill respects superior. How shall those Kings and Queenes be supreme Governours of the Church, and yet lick the dust of the Churches feet ? as it is there exprest.

Thirdly, Gods Israel of old were earnest with God for a King, for an Arme of Flesh, for a King to pro-

Gods Is-
rael earn-
est with

God for an Arme of Fleſh, which teſt them, as other Nations had. Gods Iſrael ſtill have ever been reſtleſſe with God for an Arme of fleſh.

God gives in his anger, and takes away in his wrath. God gave them *Saul* in his anger, and took him away in his wrath: And God hath given many a *Saul* in his Anger, that is, an Arm of Fleſh in the way of his Providence, (though I judge not all perſons whom *Saul* in his Calling typed out, to be of *Sauls* ſpirit) for I ſpeake of a State and outward viſible Power only.

I adde, God will take away ſuch ſtayes on whom Gods people reſt, in his wrath, that King *David*, that is, *Chriſt Ieſus* the *Antitype*, in his own *Spirituell* power in the hands of the Saints, may ſpiritually and for ever be advanced.

The puniſhment of blind Pharifeſes, though let alone, yet is greater then any corporall puniſhment in the world, in 4 reſpects. And therefore I conclude, it was in one reſpect that the *Lord Ieſus* ſaid, Let them alone, becauſe it was no Ordinance for any *Disciple* of *Ieſus* to proſecute the *Phariſes* at *Cæſars* Bar.

Befide, let it be ſeriously conſidered by ſuch as plead for preſent *corporall puniſhment*, as conceiving that ſuch ſinners (though they breake not Civill peace) ſhould not eſcape unpuniſhed, I ſay, let it be conſidered, though for the preſent their puniſhment is deferred, yet the *puniſhment* inflicted on them will be found to amount to an higher pitch [56] then any *corporall puniſhment* in the *World* beſide, and that in theſe foure reſpects.

CHAP. XXXII.

First by iust judgement from God, *false teachers* ^{The eye of the soul} are starke *blinde*, Gods *sword* hath stricke out ^{struck out} the right *eye* of their *minde* and *spirituall understand-* ^{is worse} *ing*, ten thousand times a greater punishment then if ^{then for} the *Magistrate* should command both the *right* and ^{both right and left} *left eye* of their *bodies* to bee bored or pluckt out, and ^{eye of the} that in so many fearfull respects if the blindnesse of ^{body to be} the *soule* and of the *body* were a little compared ^{strucke out} together, whether we looke at that want of *guidance*, ^{tenne thou} or the want of *joy* and *pleasure*, which the light of the eye affordeth; or whether we looke at the *damage*, *shame*, *deformity* and *danger*, which *blindnesse* brings to the outward man, and much more true in the *want* of the former, and *miserie* of the latter in spirituall and soule blindnesse to all *eternity*. ^{sand times}

Secondly, how fearfull is that wound that no *Balme* ^{Some} in *Gilead* can cure? How dreadfull is that blindnesse ^{soules in-} which for ever to all eye-salve is incurable? For if ^{curable,} persons be wilfully and desperately obstinate (after ^{whom not} light shining forth) let them alone saith the *Lord*. ^{only cor-} So spake the *Lord* once of *Ephraim*, *Ephraim* is ^{porall but} joyned to *Idolls*, let him alone, *Hos.* 7. what more ^{spirituall} lamentable condition then when the *Lord* hath given ^{physicke} a poor sinner over as a hopelesse *patient*, incurable, ^{can no-} which we are wont to account a forer affliction, then ^{thing} if a man were torne and rack'd, &c. ^{availe.}

And this I speake not that I conceive that all whom the *Lord Jesus* commands His servants to passe from, and let alone, to permit and tolerate (when it is in their power corporally to molest them)

I say that all are thus incurable, yet that sometimes that word is spoken by Christ Jesus to His servants to be patient, for neither can corporall or spirituall Balme or Physicke ever heale or cure them.

The bot-
tomlesse
pit or
ditch into
which the
spiritually
blind fall.

Thirdly, their end is the *Ditch*, that bottomlesse pit of everlasting *separation* from the holy and sweet Presence of the *Father* of *Lights*, *Goodnesse* and *Mercy* it selfe, *endlesse*, *easelesse*, in *extremity*, *universality*, and *eternity* of *torments*, which most direfull and lamentable downefall, should strike an holy fear & trembling into all that see the *Pit*, whither these blinde Pharises are tumbling, and cause us to strive (so far as hope may be) by the spirituall eye-salve of the Word of *God* to heale and cure them of this their soule-destroying blindness.

Fourthly, of those that fall into this dreadfull *Ditch*, both leader and followers, how deplorable in more especiall manner is the *leaders* case, [57] upon whose necke the *followers* tumble, the ruine not only of his owne soule, being horrible, but also the ruine of the followers soules eternally galling and tormenting.

Peace. Some will say these things are indeed full of horror, yet such is the state of all sinners and of many Malefactours, whom yet the State is bound to punish, and sometimes by *death* it selfe.

Truth. I answer, The Civill Magistrate beareth not the sword in vaine, but to cut off *Civill offences*, yea and the offendours too in case: But what is this to a blinde *Pharisee*, resisting the *Doctrine* of *Christ*, who happily may be as good a subject, and as peaceable and profitable to the *Civill State* as any, and for his spirituall offence against the *Lord Jesus*, in deny-

ing Him to be the true *Christ*, he suffereth the vengeance of a *dreadfull judgement* both present and eternall, as before.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Peace. YEa but it is said that the blinde *Pharises* Soul kill-
misguiding the subjects of a *Civill State*, chiefest
greatly sinne against a *Civill State*, and therefore justly murder.
suffer *civill punishment*; for shall the *Civill Magistrate* No Magis-
take care of *outsides* only, to wit, of the bodies oftrate can
men, and not of soules, in labouring to procure their execute
everlasting welfare? true justice
in killing
soule for

Truth. I answer, It is a *truth*, the mischiefe of a
blinde *Pharises* blinde *guidance* is greater then if he
acted Treasons, Murders, &c. and the losse of one Christ
soule by his seduction is a greater mischiefe then if Jesus who
he blew up Parliaments, and cuts the throats of Kings by typicall
or Emperours, so pretious is that invaluable Jewell death in
of a Soul, above all the present lives and bodies of all the Law,
the men in the world! and therefore a firme Justice typed out
calling for *eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life*; calls spirituall
also *soule for soule*, which the blind-guiding seducing in the
Pharisee shall surely pay in that dreadfull Ditch, Gospel.
which the Lord Jesus speakes of, but this sentence
against him the Lord Jesus only pronounceth in His
Church, His *spirituall judicature*, and executes this
sentence in part at present and hereafter to all eter-
nity: Such a *sentence* no *Civill Judge* can passe, such
a *Death* no *Civill sword* can inflict. A great
mistake in
most to
conceive
that dead
men, that
is, soules
dead in sin
may be in-
fected by
false doc-
trine.

I answer secondly, *Dead men* cannot be infected,
the *civill state*, the *world*, being in a naturall state

dead in sin (what ever be the *State Religion* unto which *persons* are forced) it is impossible it should be infected: Indeed the *living*, the *beleeving*, the *Church* and *spirituall state*, that and that onely is capable of *infection*; for whose helpe we shall presently [58] see what *preservatives*, and *remedies* the *Lord Iesus* hath appointed.

All naturall men being dead in sin, yet none die everlastingly but such as are thereunto ordained.

Moreover as we see in a *common plague* or *infection* the names are taken how many are to dye, and not one more shall be stricke, then the destroying *Angel* hath the names of. So here, what ever be the soule *infection* breathed out from they lying lips of a *plague-sicke Pharisee*, yet the names are taken, not one *elect* or chosen of *God* shall perish, *Gods sheep* are safe in His *eternall hand* and *counsell*, and he that knowes his *materiall*, knows also his *mysticall stars*, their *numbers*, and calls them every one by *name*, none fall into the *Ditch* on the blinde *Pharises* backe, but such as were *ordained* to that *condemnation*, both *guid* and *followers*, 1 *Pet.* 2. 8. *Iude* 4. The *vessells* of *wrath* shall breake and split, and only they to the praise of *Gods eternall justice*, *Rom.* 9.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Peace. **B**UT it is said, be it granted that in a *common plague* or *infection* none are smitten and dye but such as are appointed, yet it is not only every mans duty, but the common duty of the Magistrate to prevent *infection*, and to preserve the *common health* of the place; likewise though the number of the *Elect* be sure, and *God* knowes who are His, yet hath

He appointed meanes for their *preservation* from *perdition*, and from *infection*, and therefore the *Angel* is blamed for suffering *Balaams* doctrine, and *Jesabel* to seduce Christ Jesus His servants, *Rev. 2. Tit. 3. 10. Rom. 16. 17.*

Truth. I answer, Let that Scripture and that of *Titus* reject an *Hereticke*, and *Rom. 16. 17.* avoid them that are *contentious*, &c. let them, and all of like nature be examined, and it will appeare that the great and good *Physitian Christ Jesus*, the *Head* of the *Body*, and *King* of the *Church* hath not been unfaithfull in providing spirituall *antidotes* and *preservatives* against the spirituall *sicknesses*, *sores*, *weaknesses*, *dangers* of his *Church* and people; but he never appointed the *civill sword* for either *antidote* or *remedy*, as an *addition* to those *spiritualls*, which he hath left with his *wife*, his *Church* or *People*.

Hence how great is the *bondage*, the *captivity* of Gods owne People to *Babylonish* or *confused mixtures* in *Worship*, and unto worldly and earthly policies to uphold *State Religions* or *Worships*, since that which is written to the *Angel* and *Church* at *Pergamus*, shall be interpreted as sent to the *Governour* and *City* of *Pergamus*, and that which is sent to *Titus*, and the *Church* of *Christ* at *Creet* must be delivered to the *civill officers* and *City* thereof.

59] But as the *Civill Magistrate* hath his charge of the *bodies* and *goods* of the *subject*: So have the *spirituall Officers*, *Governours* and *overseers* of *Christs City* or *Kingdome*, the charge of their *souls*, and *soule safety*; Hence that charge of *Paul* to *Tim. 1 Tim. 5. 20.* Them that sinne *rebuke* before all, that others

The Lord
Jesus hath
not left his
Church
without
spirituall
antidotes
and reme-
dies against
infection.

The Mis-
erable bon-
dage Gods
people
live in.

may learne to *fear*. This is in the Church of Christ a spirituall meanes for the *healing* of a *soule* that hath sinned, or taken *infection*, and for the preventing of the infecting of others, that others may learne to feare, &c.

CHAP. XXXV.

Peace. IT is said true that *Titus* and *Timothy*, and so the Officers of the *Church* of *Cbrist* are bound to prevent *soule infection*: But what hinders that the Magistrate should not be charged also with this duty?

The
Kings and
Queens of
England
Govern-
ours of the
Church.

Truth. I answer, many things I have answered, and more shall; at present I shall only say this: If it be the *Magistrates* duty or office, then is he both a *Temporall* and *Ecclesiasticall* officer; contrary to which most men will affirme: and yet we know the policie of our owne Land and Country hath established to the *Kings* and *Queens* thereof, the supreme *heads* or *governours* of the *Church* of *England*.

Strange
confusion
in punish-
ments.

That *doctrine* and *distinction* that a *Magistrate* may punish an *Heretick* civilly will not here availe; for what is *Babel* if this be not confusedly to punish *corporall* or *civill* offences with *spirituall* or *Church censures* (the offendour not being a member of it) or to punish *soule* or *spirituall* offences with *corporall* or *temporall* weapons proper to *Delinquents* against the *temporall* or *civill* state.

Woe were
it with the
civill Mag-
istrate if
the bloud
of soules
(besidethe
ordinary
care of the

Lastly, woe were it with the *civill Magistrate* (and most intolerable *burthens* do they lay upon their backs that teach this *doctrine*) if together with the common

care and charge of the *Commonwealth* (the peace and ^{bodies and} safety of the *Towne, City, State* or *Kingdome*) the ^{goods of} bloud of every soule that perisheth should cry against ^{the sub-} him, unlesse he could say with *Paul, Acts 20.* (in ^{ject) should} spirituall regards) I am clear from the *bloud* of all ^{cry against} men, that is the bloud of *soules*, which was his charge ^{him.} to looke after, so far as his *preaching* went, not the bloud of *bodies* which belongeth to the *civill Magistrate*.

I acknowledge he ought to cherish (as a foster- ^{The Mag-} father) the *Lord Jesus* in his *truth*, in his *Saints*, to ^{istrates} cleave unto them *himselfe*, and [60] to *countenance* ^{duties to-} them even to the *death*, yea also to breake the teeth ^{ward the} of the *Lions*, who offer Civill violence and injury ^{Church} unto them. ^{the Spouse} of Christ.

But, to see all his Subjects *Christians*, to keepe such ^{Usurpers} *Church* or *Christians* in the purity of worship, and ^{and true} see them doe their *duty*, this belongs to the *Head* of ^{heires of} the *Body Christ Jesus*, and such spirituall Officers as ^{the spir-} he hath to this purpose deputed, whose right it is ^{ituall} according to the true paterne: *Abimelech, Saul, Adon-* ^{Crowne} *ijah, Athalia* were but usurpers: *David, Salomon,* ^{of Jesus.} *Joash,* &c. they were the true *heires* and *types* of *Christ Jesus* in His true *Power* and *Authority* in His *Kingdome*.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Peace. **T**HE next Scripture brought against such ^{Luke 9.} persecution is *Luke 9. 54, 55.* where the ^{54. 55.} Lord Jesus reprov'd His Disciples, who would have ^{discussed.} had fire come downe from Heaven, and devoure those

Samaritanes that would not receive Him in these words: You know not of what *spirit* you are, the Son of Man is not come to *destroy* mens lives, but to *save* them.

With this Scripture Mr. Cotton joynes the fourth, and answers both in one, which is this, 2 *Tim.* 2. 24. The servant of the *Lord* must not strive, but must be gentle toward all men, suffering the *evill men*, instructing them with *meeknesse* that are contrary minded and *oppose* themselves, proving if *God* peradventure will give them *repentance* that they may acknowledge the *truth*, and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the *Devell* who are taken *captive* by him at his *will*.

Unto both these *Scriptures* it pleaseth him thus to answer: “Both these are *directions* to *Ministers* of the “*Gospel* how to deale (not with obstinate offenders “in the *Church* who sin against *conscience*, but) either “with *men* without as the *Samaritanes* were, and “many unconverted *Christians* in *Creet*, whom *Titus* “(as an Evangelist) was to seek to convert:

An excellent saying of persecutors themselves.

“Or at best with some *Jewes* or *Gentiles* in the “*Church*, who though carnall, yet were not convinced of the error of their way: And it is true it “became not the Spirit of the *Gospel* to convert Aliens “to the *Faith* (such as the *Samaritanes* were) by fire “and brimstone, nor to deale harshly in *publicke* *Ministry* or private conference with all such severall “minded men as either had [61] not yet entred into “*Church fellowship*, or if they had did hitherto sin “of *ignorance*, not against *Conscience*: But neither of “both these Texts doe hinder the *Minister* of the

“*Gospel* to proceed in a *Church* way against *Church*
“*members*, when they become scandalous offenders
“either in *life* or *doctrine*, much lesse doe they speake
“at all to the *Civill Magistrate*.¹

CHAP. XXXVII.

Truth. **T**HIS perplexed and ravelled *Answer*, where
in so many things and so doubtfull are
wrapt up and intangled together, I shall take in pieces.

First, concerning that of the *Lord Jesus* rebuking his *Disciples* for their rash and ignorant bloody zeale
(*Luc. 9.*) desiring *corporall destruction* upon the *Samaritanes* for refusing the *Lord Jesus*, &c. the *Answerer*
affirmeth, that hindreth not the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*
to proceed in a *Church* way against scandalous
offenders, which is not here questioned, but main-
tained to bee the holy will of the *Lord*, and a suffi-
cient censure and punishment, if no civill offence
against the *Civill State* be committed.

Secondly (saith hee) “Much lesse doth this speake
“at all to the *Civill Magistrate*. .

¹ This paragraph is quoted literally from Cotton's Letter, see p. 9. But Cotton, for some reason, denies its literal accuracy, which Williams affirms. “The matter of this Answer, it is likely enough was given by me: for it suiteth with mine own apprehensions, both then and now. But some expressions in laying it downe, I doe not owne, nor can I finde any Copie under my owne hand-writing, that might testifie, how I did expresse myselfe, especially in a word or two, wherein the *Discussor* observeth (in chap.

38.) some haste, and light, and sleepy attention. But if the *Discussor* can shew the same under mine owne hand (as it is not impossible) I shall be willing (by God's help) both to acknowledge it, and my haste in it.” *The Bloody Tenent Washed*, pp. 74, 75. “It is at hand for Master Cotton or any to see that copy which he gave forth and corrected in some places with his own hand, and every word *verbatim* here published.” *The Bloody Tenent yet More Bloody*, p. 114.

If the Civill Magistrate be a Christian, he is bound to be like Christ in saving, not destroying mens bodies.

Where I observe that he implyes that beside the *censure* of the *Lord Iesus*, in the hands of his *spirituall governours*, for any spirituall evill in *life* or *doctrine*, the *Civill Magistrate* is also to inflict *corporall punishment* upon the contrary minded: whereas

First, if the *Civill Magistrate* be a *Christian*, a *Disciple* or follower of the meeke *Lambe* of *God*, he is bound to be far from destroying the *bodies of men*, for refusing to receive the *Lord Iesus Christ*, for other-

The Civill Magistrate bound not to inflict nor to suffer any other to inflict violence, stripes, or any corporall punishment for evill against Christ.

wise hee should not know (according to this speech of the *Lord Iesus*) what *spirit* he was of, yea and to be ignorant of the sweet end of the comming of the *Son of Man*, which was not to destroy the *bodies of Men*, but to save both *bodies* and *soules*, *vers. 55. 56.*

Secondly, if the *Civill Magistrate*, being a *Christian*, gifted, *propheste* in the *Church*, *1 Corinth. 1. 14.* although the *Lord Iesus Christ*, whom they in their owne persons hold forth, shall be refused, yet they are here forbidden to call for fire from *heaven*, that is, to procure or inflict any corporall *judgement* upon such *offenders*, remembring the end of the *Lord Iesus* his comming, not to *destroy* mens lives, but to *save* them.

62] Lastly, this also concernes the *conscience* of the *Civill Magistrate*, as he is bound to preserve the *civill peace* and quiet of the *place* and people under him, he is bound to suffer no man to breake the *Civill Peace*, by laying hands of *violence* upon any, though as vile as the *Samaritanes* for not receiving of the *Lord Iesus Christ*.

Revel. 13. 13. It is indeede the *ignorance* and blind *zeale* of the second *Beast*, the *false Prophet*, *Rev. 13. 13.* to per-

swade the *civill Powers* of the earth to persecute the Saints, that is, to bring fiery *judgements* upon men in a *judiciall way*, and to pronounce that such *judgements* of *imprisonment*, *banishment*, *death*, proceed from Gods righteous *vengeance* upon such *Hereticks*. So dealt divers *Bishops* in *France*, and *England* too in *Queene Maries* dayes with the Saints of God at their putting to death, declaiming against them in their Sermons to the people, and proclaiming that these persecutions even unto death were Gods *just judgements* from *heaven* upon these *Heretickes*.

Fire from
heaven.
What the
fire from
heaven is
which the
salf Proph
et bring-
eth downe

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Peace. **D**Oubtleffe such fiery spirits (as the Lord ^{2 Tim. 3.} Jesus said) are not of God: I pray speake ^{25. 26.} to the second place out of *Timothy*, 2. *Epist.* 25. 26. ^{examined.}

Truth. I acknowledge this instruction to be meeke and patient, &c. is properly an instruction to the *Ministers* of the Gospel. Yet divers Arguments from hence will truly and fairly be collected, to manifest and evince how farre the *civill Magistrate* ought to bee from dealing with the *civill sword* in *spirituall cases*.

And first (by the way) I desire to aske, What were these *unconverted Christians* in *Crete*, which the Answerer compareth with the *Samaritanes*, whom *Titus* (saith he) as an *Evangelist* was to seek to convert; and whether the *Lord Iesus* have any such Disciples and Followers, who yet are visibly in an *unconverted estate*. O that it may please the *Father*

of mercies, the *Father of lights*, to awaken and open the eyes of all that feare before him, that they may see whether this be the *Language of Canaan*, or the *Language of Ashdod*.

A quære
what the
Answerer
meanes by
his uncon-
verted
Christian
in Crete.

What is an *unconverted Christian* but in truth an *unconverted Convert*? that is in English one *unturnd*: *unholy holy*: *Disciples* or *Followers* of *Iesus* not following of him: In a word, that is *Christians* or anointed by *Christ*, *Antichristians* not anointed with the Spirit of *Iesus Christ*.

The orig-
inall of
Christi-
ans.

63] Certaine it is, such they were not unto whom the Spirit of *God* gives that name, *Act. 11*. And indeed whither can this tend but to uphold the *blasphemy* of so many as say they are *Iewes*, that is, *Christians*, but are not? *Rev. 2*. But as they are not *Christians* from *Christ*, but from the *Beast* and his *Picture*, so their proper name from *Antichrist*, is *Antichristians*.

The An-
swerer yet
in the un-
converted
Churches
and wor-
ships.

How sad yet and how true an *evidence* is this, that the soule of the Answerer (I speake not of his inward soule and person, but of his worship) hath never yet heard the call of the *Lord Iesus*, to come out from those unconverted *Churches*, from that unconverted *Antichristian Christian* world, and so from *Antichrist Belial*, to seeke fellowship with *Christ Iesus*, and his converted *Christians*, *Disciples* after the first patterne.

Gods peo-
ple sleepe
in the mat-
ters of
Christs
Kingdome
Cant. 5.2.

Againe, I observe the *haste* and light *attention* of the Answerer to these Scriptures (as commonly the spirits of *Gods children* in matters of *Christs Kingdome* are very *sleepey*) for these persons here spoken of were not (as he speakes) unconverted *Christians* in *Crete*, whom *Titus* as an *Evangelist* was to convert, but they

were such *opposites* as *Timothy* (to whom *Paul* writes this Letter at *Ephesus*) should meet withall.¹

CHAP. XXXIX.

Peace. **B**Ut what is there in this Scripture of *Timothy* alledged concerning the civill *Magistracy*?

Truth. I argue from this place of *Timothy* in particular, thus. 1 Cor. 14.
Patience
and meek-

First, if the *civill Magistrates* bee *Christians*, or members of the *Church*, able to *prophecie in the Church of Christ*, then I say as before, they are bound by this command of *Christ* to suffer opposition to their *doctrine*, with *meeknesse* and *gentlenesse*, and to be so farre from striving to subdue their *opposites* with the *civill sword*, that they are bound with *patience* and *meeknesse* to wait if *God* peradventure will please to grant *repentance* unto their *opposites*. nesse re-
quired in
all that
open
Christ's
myste-
ries.

So also it pleaseth the Answerer to acknowledge in these words:

“It becomes not the *Spirit* of the *Gospel* to con-

¹ Cotton says in regard to the points made by Williams in this Chapter, “It must lye upon the Discussers credit, whether I used at all such a phrase or no: Sure I am, I cannot hitherto (after much seeking) find mine owne handwritten copy, which might cleare the mistake, both of *Crete* for *Ephesus*, and unconverted Christians for unconverted Persons.” “The Transcript, which with much seeking, I found, hath it, instead of unconverted Christians in *Crete*, unconverted Persons in *Ephesus*.” *The*

Bloody Tenent Washed, pp. 77. 78. He however, defends the phrase “unconverted Christians,” alleging in its behalf the doctrine that unconverted children of Church-members are also members of the Church. “I have not yet learned, (nor doe I thinke, I ever shall) that the children of believing Parents borne in the Church, are all of them Pagans, and no Members of the Church: or that being Members of the Church (and so holy) that they are all of them truly converted.” p. 78.

“vert *Aliens* to the Faith (such as the *Samaritanes*,
 “and the unconverted *Christians* in *Crete*) with *Fire*
 “and *Brimstone*.

Secondly, be they *oppositions within*, and *Church members* (as the Answerer speakes) become *scandalous in doctrine*, (I speake not of [64] *scandals* against the *civill State*, which the *civill Magistrate* ought to punish) it is the *Lord* onely (as this Scripture to *Timothy* implyes) who is able to give them *repentance*, and recover them out of *Sathans* snare: to which end also he hath appointed those holy and dreadfull *censures* in his *Church* or *Kingdome*. True it is, the *Sword* may make (as once the *Lord* complained, *Isa.* 10.) a whole *Nation* of *Hypocrites*: But to recover a Soule from *Sathan* by *repentance*, and to bring them from *Antichristian doctrine* or *worship*, to the *doctrine* or *worship Christian*, in the least true *internall* or *externall* submission, that only works the *All-powerfull God*, by the *sword* of the Spirit in the hand of his *Spirituall officers*.

The civill
 Sword
 may make
 a Nation
 of Hypo-
 crites &
 Antichris-
 tians, but
 not one
 Christian.

Won-
 derfull
 changes of
 Religion
 in Eng-
 land.

What a most wofull prooffe hereof have the *Nations* of the Earth given in all *Ages*? And to seeke no further then our *native* Soyle, within a few scores of yeeres, how many wonderfull *changes* in *Religion* hath the *whole Kingdome* made, according to the *change* of the *Governours* thereof, in the severall *Religious* which they themselves imbraced! *Henry* the 7. finds and leaves the *kingdome* absolutely *Popish*. *Henry* the 8. casts it into a *mould* half *Popish* halfe *Protestant*. *Edward* the 6. brings forth an *Edition* all *Protestant*. *Queene Mary* within few yeares defaceth *Edwards* worke, and renders the *Kingdome* (after her Grand-

father *Hen. 7.* his pattern) all *Popish*. *Maries* short Englands changes in point of Religion. *life* and *Religion* ends together : and *Elizabeth* reviveth her Brother *Edwards* Modell, all Protestant : And some eminent *Witnesses* of Gods Truth against *Antichrist*, have enclined to believe, that before the downfall of that *Beast*, England must once againe bow down her faire Neck to his proud usurping yoake and foot.

Peace. It hath been *Englands* sinfull shame, to fashion & change their *Garments* and *Religions* with wondrous *ease* and *lightnesse*, as a *higher Power*, a *stronger Sword* hath prevailed ; after the ancient patterne of *Nebuchadnezzars* bowing the whole world in one most solemne *uniformitie* of *worship* to his *Golden Image*, Dan. 3.

CHAP. XL.

BUt it hath been thought, or said, Shall *oppositions* against the *Truth* escape unpunished ? will they not prove mischievous, &c.

Truth. I answer (as before) concerning the blinde The miserie of opposites against the Truth. Guides (in [65] case there be no *Civill offence* committed) the *Magistrates*, & all men that by the mercy of God to themselves discern the *miserie* of such *Opposites*, have cause to lament and bewaile that fearful condition wherein such are entangled, to wit, in the *snares* & *chains* of *Satan*, with which they are so invincibly caught and held, that no power in *Heaven* or *Earth*, but the Right hand of the *Lord* in the meeke and gentle dispensing of the *Word* of *Truth*, can release and quit them.

A difference between the true and false Christ and Christians.

Those many false Christs (of whom the Lord Jesus forewarnes, *Mat. 24.*) have futablely their false *bodies*, *faith*, *spirit*, *Baptisme*, as the Lord Jesus, hath his true *body*, *faith*, *spirit*, &c. *Ephes. 4.* correspondent also are their *weapons*, and the *successse*, issue, or operation of them. A *carnall weapon* or *sword* of *steele* may produce a *carnall repentance*, a shew, an outside, an *uniformitie* through a State or *Kingdome*: But it hath pleased the Father to exalt the Lord *Jesus* only, to be a Prince (armed with *power* and meanes sufficient) to give *repentance* to *Israel*, *Acts 5. 31.*

The worship of unbelieving unregenerate persons.

Accordingly an *unbelieving* Soule being dead in sinne (although he be changed from one *worship* to another, like a dead man shifted into severall changes of *apparell*) cannot please *God*, *Heb. 11.* and consequently, whatever such an *unbelieving* & *unregenerate* person acts in *Worship* or *Religion*, it is but sinne, *Rom. 14.* *Preaching* sinne, *praying* (though without beads or booke) sinne; *breaking of bread*, or *Lords supper* sinne, yea as odious as the oblation of Swines blood, a Dogs neck, or *killing of a Man*, *Isa. 66.*

The danger & mischief of a civill sword in Soule matters, which makes the civill Magistrates deeply guilty of all those

But *Faith* it is that *gift* which proceeds alone from the *Father* of Lights, *Phil. 1. 29.* and till he please to make his *light* arise and open the eyes of blind sinners, their soules shall lie fast asleep (and the faster, in that a *sword* of *steele* compells them to a *worship* in *hypocrisie*) in the dungeons of *spirituall darknesse* and *Sathans slavery*.

Peace. I adde, that a *civill sword* (as wofull experience in all ages hath proved) is so far from bringing or helping forward an *opposite* in *Religion* to *repentance*, that *Magistrates* sinne grievously against

the worke of God and blood of Soules, by such proceedings. Because as (commonly) the sufferings of false and Antichristian Teachers harden their followers, who being blind, by this meanes are occasioned to tumble into the ditch of Hell after their blind leaders, with more inflamed zeale of lying confidence. So secondly, violence and a sword of Steele begets such an impression in the sufferers, [66] that certainly they conclude (as indeed that Religion cannot be true which needs such instruments of violence to uphold it so) that Persecutors are far from soft and gentle commiseration of the blindness of others. To this purpose it pleased the Father of Spirits, of old, to constrain the Emperour of Rome, Antoninus Pius, to write to all the Governours of his Provinces to forbear to persecute the Christians, because such dealing must needs be so far from converting the Christians from their way, that it rather begat in their mindes an opinion of their crueltie, &c.¹

evils which he aims to suppress. That cannot be a true Religion, which needs carnall weapons to uphold it. Persecutors beget a perfwasion of their cruelty in the hearts of the persecuted. Antoninus Pius his golden act.

CHAP. XLI.

Peace. **T**HE next Scripture against such persecution, is that of the Prophet, *Isa. 2. 4.* together with *Mic. 4. 3.* they shall break their swords into plough-shares, and their speares into pruning-hookes, *Isa. 11. 9.* concern- ing Christs

¹ Eusebii Pamphili *Ecc. Hist.* Lib. iv. cap. 13, Cantabrigiæ, 1720; Justin Martyris *Opera*, tom. 1, p. 100, Parisiis, 1636. In *The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody*, p. 126, Williams quotes this edict "related by that praise-worthy Master John Speade out of Eusebius." It is also quoted in Milner, *Church Hist.*

1: 181. It is "now generally given up as spurious." Milman, *History of Christianity*, ii: 158. "Any man moderately acquainted with Roman history will see at once from the style and tenor that it is a clumsy forgery." George Long, *Thoughts of M. Aurelius Antoninus*, page 24.

peaceable
Kingdom
discussed.

Isa. 11. 9. There shall none hurt or destroy in all the *mountaine* of my *Holineſſe*.

Unto which it pleased Mr. *Cotton* to say, "That these *predictions* doe onely shew, first, with what kinde of *weapons* he should subdue the *Nations* to the *obedience* of the *faith* of the *Gospell*, not by *fire* and *sword*, and weapons of *War*, but by the power of the *Word* and *Spirit* of *God*, which, saith he, no man doubts of.

Mr. Cottons excellent interpretation of those Prophecies.

"Secondly, those *predictions* of the *Prophets* shew, what the *meeke* and *peaceable* temper will be of all true *converts* to *Christianity*; not *Lyons* or *Leopards*, not *cruell oppressors* nor *malignant opposers* or *biters* one of another: but doth not forbid them to drive *ravenous wolves* from the *sheep-fold*, and to restraine them from devouring the *sheep* of *Christ*.

His doctrine and practice condemned by that interpretation.

Truth. In this first excellent and truly Christian *Answer*, me thinks the *Answerer* may heare a voyce from *Heaven*, Out of thine owne mouth will I judge thee: For what can be said more heavenly by the *tongues* of *Men* and *Angels*, to shew the *heavenly meek temper* of all the *Souldiers* of the *Lambe of God*, as also to set forth what are the *Spirituall weapons* and *ammunition* of the holy war and battle of the *Gospell* and *Kingdome* of *Iesus Christ*, for the subduing of the *Nations* of the *World* unto him.

Peace. And yet out of the same mouth (which should not be, saith *James*) proceeds *good* and *evill*, *sweet* and *sowre*; for he addes: But this doth not forbid them to drive *ravenous wolves* from the 67] *sheepfold*, and to restraine them from devouring the *sheepe* of *Christ*.

Truth. In these words (according to the judgement here maintained by him) he fights against the former *truth* (to wit, that by *spirituall weapons* *Christ Jesus* will subdue the *Nations* of the *Earth* to the *obedience* of the *Gospel*) for by driving away these *Wolves* hee intends not onely the *resistance* and *violence* which the *Shepherds* of *Christ* ought spirituallly to make, but the *civill resistance* of the *materiall Swords, Staves Guns, &c.* Whence I argue, that same power that forceth the evill (or *Wolves*) out, forceth the good (the *Sheepe*) in; for of the *same* or *like* things is the *same* or *like* reason; as the same *arme of flesh* that with a *staffe* beats off a *Wolfe*, with a *Rod* and *Hooke* brings in the *Sheepe*: the same *dog* that assaulteth and tear-eth the *Wolfe*, frighteth and forceth in the *straggling Sheep*.

Spirituall
and my-
sticall
Wolves.

CHAP. XLII.

Peace. **B**Vt for the clearer opening of this *mystery*, I pray explicate that Scripture where the *Spirit of God* is pleased to use this similitude of *Wolves*, *Acts* 20. 29. out of which (keeping to the Allegory) I shall propose these *Queries*.

Acts. 20. 29
opened.

First, what *Wolves* were these *Paul* warnes of?

Truth. *Answer.* *Wolves literally* he will not say: Nor secondly, *persecutors* of the *Flock*, such as the *Romane Emperours* were, [or] *Magistrates* under him.

Therefore (thirdly) such as brought other *Religions* and *Worships*, as the *Spirit of God* opens it, *vers.* 30. Such as amongst themselves should speake *perverse* things, as many *Antichrists* did, and especially *The*

What
those
Wolves
were.

Acts. 20. 29

Antichrist. And I aske whether or no such as may hold forth other *Worships* or *Religions*, (*Iewes, Turkes, or Antichristians*) may not be peaceable and quiet *Subjects*, loving and helpfull *neighbours*, faire and just *dealers*, true and loyall to the *civill government*? It is cleare they may from all *Reason* and *Experience* in many flourishing *Cities* and *Kingdomes* of the World, and so offend not against the *civill State* and *Peace*; nor incurre the punishment of the *civill sword*, notwithstanding that in *spirituall* and *mysticall account* they are ravenous and greedy *Wolves*.

Peace. 2. I quære to whom *Paul* gave this charge to watch against them, *vers.* 31.

68] *Truth.* They were not the *Magistrates* of the *City of Epheſus*, but the *Elders* or *Ministers* of the *Church of Chriſt* (his mysticall flock of sheepe) at *Epheſus*: Vnto them was this charge of *watching* given, and so consequently of driving away these *Wolves*.

Charges
directed to
Ministers
of the
spirituall
kingdome,
faſly ap-
plied to
the Magi-
strates of
the civill.
No word
of Chriſt
to the
civill Mag-
istrate to
feed his
flock, but

And however that many of these charges and *exhortations* given by that *One Shepheard Chriſt Ieſus* to the *Shepherds* or *Ministers* of *Churches*, be commonly attributed and directed (by the Answerer in this discourse) to the *civill Magistrate*; yet I desire in the feare and holy presence of God it may bee inquired into, whether in all the *Will* or *Testament* of *Chriſt* there bee any such word of *Chriſt* by way of *command*, *promise*, or *example*, countenancing the *Governors* of the *civill State* to meddle with these *Wolves*, if in *civill things* *peaceable* and *obedient*.

Peace. Truly if this charge were given to the *Magistrates* at *Epheſus*, or any *Magistrates* in the World,

doubtleffe they must bee able to discerne and determine (out of their owne *official abilities* in these spirituall Law questions) who are spirituall *Sheep*, what is their *food*, what their *poison*, what their *properties*, who their *Keepers*, &c. So on the contrary who are *Wolves*, what their *properties*, their *haunts*, their *assaults*, the manner of taking, &c. spiritually: (and this beside the care and study of the Civill Lawes, and the discerning of his owne proper Civill *Sheep*, obedient Sheepe, &c. as also wolvishe oppressors, &c. whom he is bound to punish and suppress)

to his Ministers, who (if true) have spirituall power sufficient against spirituall Wolves.

Truth. I know that Civill Magistrates (in some places) have declined the name of *Head* of the Church, and *Ecclesiasticall* Judge, yet can they not with good conscience decline the *name*, if they doe the *worke*, and performe the *office* of determining and punishing a meerly spirituall *Wolfe*.

Magistrates decline the name of Head of the Church, and yet practise the headship or government.

They must be sufficiently also able to judge in all *spirituall* causes, and that with their owne, and not with other mens eyes, (no more then they doe in *civill causes*) contrary to the common practise of the Governours and Rulers of Civill States, who often set up that for a *Religion* or *Worship* to God, which the *Clergie* or Churchmen (as men speake) shall in their Consciences agree upon.

And if this be not so, to wit, that *Magistrates* must not be *Spirituall Judges* (as some decline it in the title, Supreme Head and Governour) why is *Gallio* wont to be exclaimed against for refusing to be a *Judge* in such matters as concerned the *Iewish worship* and *Religion*? How is he censured for a *Prophane person*, without *conscience*, [69] &c. in that he would

bee no *Iudge* or *Head*? (for that is all one in point of Government.)

The Elect
shall not
be de-
voured.

Peace. In the third place I quærie whether the *Father* who gave, and the *Sonne* who keepes the *Sheepe*, bee not greater then all? Who can pluck these *Sheepe* the *Elect* out of his hand, which answers that common objection of that danger of devouring, although there were no other weapons in the world appointed by the Lord *Jesus*. But

CHAP. XLIII.

Christ
Jesus fur-
nisheth his
Shepherds
with pow-
er suffi-
cient to
drive away
Wolves.

Fourthly, I ask, Were not these *Elders* or *Ministers* of the *Church* of *Ephesus* sufficiently furnished from the *Lord Iesus* to drive away these mysticall and spirituall *Wolves*?

Truth. True it is, against the inhumane and uncivill violence of Persecutors, they were not, nor are *Gods children* able and provided: but to resist, drive away, expell, and kill spirituall & mysticall *Wolves* by the word of the *Lord*, none are fit to be Christs Shepherds

Tit. 1. 9.
10. open-
ed.

who are not able, *Tit.* 1. 9. 10. 11. The *Bishop* or *Overseer* must be able by sound *doctrine* both to exhort and to convince the *Gainfayers*: which *Gainfayers* to be by him convinced, that is, overcome or subdued (though it may be in themselves ever obstinate) they were I say as greedy *Wolves* in *Crete*, as any could be at *Ephesus*: for so saith *Paul* vers. 10. they were unruly and vaine talkers, deceivers, whose mouthes must bee stopped, who subverted whole houses; and yet *Titus* (and every ordinary Shepherd of a flocke of *Christ*) had ability sufficient to defend the flock

from spirituall and mysticall *wolves* without the helpe of the Civill Magistrate.

Peace. In this respect therefore me thinks we may fitly allude to that excellent answer of *Iob* to *Bildad* the *Shubite*, *Iob* 26. How hast thou helped him that ^{Job. 26. 1,} is without power? How savest thou the *arme* that ^{2.} hath no strength? How hast thou counselled him that hath no *wisedome*? how hast thou plentifully declared the thing as it is?

5. Lastly, I ask, whether (as men deale with Wolves) these *wolves* at *Ephesus* were intended by *Paul* to be killed, their braines dasht out with stones, staves, halberts, guns, &c. in the hands of the Elders of *Ephesus*, &c?

Truth. Doubtlesse (comparing spirituall things with spirituall) [70] all such mysticall wolves must spiritually and mystically so be slain. And the *Witnesses* of *Truth*, *Revel.* 11. speake fire, and kill all that hurt them, by that *ferie* Word of *God*, and that two-edged *sword* in their hand, *Psal.* 149.

But oh what streames of the *blood* of Saints have been and must be shed (untill the *Lambe* have obtained the *Victorie*, *Revel.* 17.) by this unmercifull (and in the state of the *New Testament*, when the *Church* is spread all the *World* over) most *bloody doctrine*, viz. The *wolves* (Hereticks) are to be driven away, their braines *knockt* out and *kill'd*, the poore sheepe to be preserved for whom *Christ* died, &c.

Is not this to take *Christ Jesus*, and make him a temporall *King* by force? *John* 6. 15. Is not this to make his *Kingdome* of this *world*, to set up a *civill* and temporall *Israel*, to bound out new *Earthly* *boly*

Lands of Canaan, yea and to set up a *Spanisb Inquisition* in all parts of the *World*, to the speedy destruction of thousands, yea of millions of Soules, and the frustrating of the sweet *end* of the comming of the *Lord Iesus*, to wit, to save *mens soules* (and to that end not to destroy their *bodies*) by his own blood?

CHAP. XLIV.

John 6. 15
2 Cor. 10.
4. dis-
cussed.

THE next Scripture produced against such Persecution, is 2 *Cor.* 10. 4. The *weapons* of our *warfare* are not *carnall*, but mighty through *God* to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down *imaginations*, and every high thing that exalteth it selfe against the *knowledge of God*, and bringing into *captivity* every thought to the obedience of *Christ*, and having in a readinesse to avenge all *disobedience*, &c.

Unto which it is answered, "When *Paul* saith, "The *weapons* of our *warfare* are not *carnall*, but "*spirituall*: he denieth not *civill* weapons of *Justice* "to the *civill Magistrate*, *Rom.* 13. but only to "*Church-officers*: and yet the *weapons* of *Church* "*officers* he acknowledgeth to be such, as though they "be *spirituall*, yet are ready to take *vengeance* on all "*disobedience*, 2 *Cor.* 10. 6. which hath reference, "amongst other *Ordinances*, to the censures of the "*Church* against *scandalous offenders*.

Truth. I acknowledge that herein the Spirit of *God* denieth not [71] *civill weapons* of *justice* to the *Civill Magistrate*, which the Scripture he quotes, *Rom.* 13. abundantly testifie.

Yet withall I must aske, why he here affirmeth

the Apostle denies not *civill weapons* of Justice to the *civill Magistrate*? of which there is no question, unlesse that (according to his scope of proving *persecution* for *conscience*) he intends withall, that the *Apostle* denies not *civill weapons* of *justice* to the *Civill Magistrate* in *Spirituall* and *Religious* causes: The contrary whereunto (the Lord assisting) I shall evince, both from this very Scripture, and his owne observation, and lastly by that 13 of the Romanes, by himselfe quoted.

First then from this *Scripture* and his owne *Observation*: The *weapons* of *Church officers* (saith he) are such, which though they be *spirituall*, are ready to take vengeance on all *disobedience*; which hath reference (saith he) amongst other Ordinances, to the Censures of the *Church* against scandalous offenders.

I hence observe, that there being in this Scripture held forth a two-fold state, a *Civill state* and a *Spirituall*, *Civill officers* and *spirituall*, *civill weapons* and *spirituall weapons*, *civill vengeance* and *punishment*, and a *spirituall vengeance* and *punishment*: although the *Spirit* speakes not here expressly of *Civill Magistrates* and their *civill weapons*, yet these States being of different Natures and Considerations, as far differing as *Spirit* from *Flesh*, I first observe, that *Civill weapons* are most improper and unfitting in matters of the *Spirituall state* and *kingdome*, though in the *Civill state* most proper and futable.

The difference of the civill & spirituall estate.
Civill weapons most improper in spirituall causes:
fitly exemplified by that similitude, 2 Cor. 10.4.

CHAP. XLV.

FOR (to keepe to the *similitude* which the *Spirit* useth, for instance) To batter downe a *strong hold*, *high wall*, *fort*, *tower* or *castle*, men bring not a first and second *Admonition*, and after obstinacie, *Excommunication*, which are *spirituall weapons* concerning them that be in the *Church*: nor *exhortation* to *Repent* and be *baptized*, to beleeeve in the Lord *Jesus*, &c. which are proper weapons to them that be without, &c. But to take a *strong hold*, men bring *Canons*, *Culverins*, *Saker*,¹ *Bullets*, *Powder*, *Musquets*, *Swords*, *Pikes*, &c. and these to this end are weapons effectuall and proportionable.

Spirituall
weapons,
only effect-
uall in
spirituall
& soule
causes,

72] On the other side, to batter downe *Idolatry*, *false worship*, *heresie*, *schisme*, *blindnesse*, *hardnesse*, out of the *soule* and *spirit*, it is vaine, improper, and unsutable to bring those *weapons* which are used by *persecutors*, *stocks*, *whips*, *prisons*, *swords*, *gibbets*, *stakes*, &c. (where these seem to prevaile with some Cities or Kingdomes, a stronger force sets up againe, what a weaker pull'd downe) but against these *spirituall strong holds* in the *soules* of men, *Spirituall Artillery* and *weapons* are proper, which are mighty through *God* to subdue and bring under the very *thought* to *obedience*, or else to binde fast the *soule* with *chaines* of *darknesse*, and locke it up in the *prison* of *unbeleefe* and *hardnesse* to *eternity*.

¹ “(1) The peregrine hawk.

(2) A piece of ordnance of three inches and a half bore, weight of shot five pounds and a half. According to

Harrison the weight of the Saker was 1500 lbs.” J. O. Halliwell, *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*. 2: 702.

2. I observe that as *civill weapons* are improper in this businesse, and never able to effect ought in the *soule*: So (although they were proper, yet) they are *unnecessary*, for if as the *Spirit* here saith (and the *Answerer* grants) *spirituall weapons* in the hand of *Church officers* are able and ready to take *vengeance* on all disobedience, that is *able* and mighty, sufficient and ready for the *Lords* worke either to *save* the *soule*, or to *kill* the *soule* of whomsoever, be the party or parties opposite, in which respect I may againe remember that speech of *Job*, How hast thou helped him that hath no power? *Job* 26.

Peace. Offer this (as *Malachie* once spake) to the Governours the *Kings* of the *Earth*, when they besiege, beleagure, and assault great Cities, Castles, Forts, &c. should any subject pretending his service bring store of *pins*, *sticks*, *strawes*, *bulrushes*, to beat and batter downe *stone walls*, mighty *Bulwarkes*, what might his expectation and reward be, but at least the censure of a man distract, beside himselfe? &c.

Truth. What shall we then conceive of His *displeasure*, (who is the *chiefe* or *Prince* of the *Kings* of the earth, and rides upon the *Word* of *Truth* and *meeknesse*, which is that *white Horse*, *Rev.* 6. and *Rev.* 19. with His holy *witnesse*s the *white Troopers* upon *white horses*) when to His *helpe* and *aid* men bring and adde such *unnecessary*, *improper* and weake munition?

Will the *Lord Jesus* (did He ever in His owne Person practice, or did he appoint to) joine to His *Breastplate* of *Righteousnesse*, the *breastplate* of *iron* and *steele*? to the *Helmet* of *righteousnesse* and *salva-*

Civill weapons not only improper, but unnecessary in spirituall causes.

No earthly Kings or Governours will be so served, as we pretend to serve the King of Kings.

Psal. 45. The white Troopers.

Spirituall Ammunition. Eph. 6. applied

Materiall and Spirituall Artillery unfitly joyned together. *tion in Christ*, an helmet and crest of *iron, brasse*, or *steel*, a target of wood to His shield of Faith? [to] His two *edged sword* comming forth of the mouth of *Jesus*, the *materiall sword*, the worke of Smiths 73] and Cutlers? or a girdle of shooes leather to the

An alarme to civill or earthly Rulers.

girdle of truth, &c. Excellently fit and proper is that *alarme* and *item*, *Psal. 2*. Be *wise* therefore O ye *Kings* (especially those ten *Horns*, *Rev. 17*.) who under pretence of fighting for *Christ Jesus* give their power to the *Beast* against *Him*, and be warned ye *Judges* of the Earth: *Kisse the Son*, that is with *subjection* and *affection*, acknowledge *Him* only the *King* and *Judge* of *soules* (in that power bequeathed to His *Ministers* and *Churches*) lest if His wrath be kindled, yea but a little, then *blessed* are they that *trust* in *Him*.

CHAP. XLVI.

Concerning the civill Rulers power in spirituall causes discault.

Peace. **N**OW in the second place concerning that Scripture, *Rom. 13*. which it pleaseth the *Answerer* to quote, and himselfe, and so many excellent servants of God have insisted upon to prove such *persecution* for *Conscience*; how have both he and they *wrested* this Scripture (not as *Peter* writes of the *wicked*, to their *eternall*, yet) to their owne and others *temporall destruction* by *Civill wars* and *combustions* in the world?

My humble request therefore is to the Father of *Lights*, to send out the bright *beames* of the *Sun* of *Righteousnesse*, and to scatter the mist which that old *serpent*, the great *jugler Satan*, hath raised about this holy Scripture, and my request to you (divine

Truth) is for your care and paines to inlighten and cleare this Scripture.

Truth. First then upon the ferious *examination* of this whole Scripture it will appeare that from the ninth verse of 12 Chap. to the end of this whole 13 Chap. the Spirit handles the duties of the Saints in the carefull obfervation of the fecond Table in their civil converfation, or walking towards men, and fpeakes not at all of any point or matter of the firft Table concerning the *Kingdome* of the *Lord Jefus*. Rom. 13. fpeakes not at all of fpirit-uall but civill affaires.

For, having in the whole Epiftle handled that great point of free *Justification* by the free *Grace* of *God* in *Chrift*, in the beginning of the 12 Chap. he exhorts the *Beleevers* to give and dedicate themselves unto the Lord both in *foule* and *body*, and unto the 9 verse of the 12 Chap. he expreffely mentioneth their *converfation* in the *Kingdome* or *Body* of *Chrift Jefus*, together with the feverall Officers thereof.

And from the 9 ver. to the end of the 13 he plainly difcourfeth of [74] their civill converfation, and walking, one toward another, and with all men, from whence he hath faire occafion to fpeake largely concerning their fubjection to *Magiftrates* in the 13 Chap. The fcope of Rom. 13.

Hence it is that verfe 7 of this 13 Chap. *Paul* exhorts to performance of *love* to all men (*Magiftrates and fubjects*) verfe 7. 8. Render therefore to all their due, *tribute* to whom *tribute* is due, *cuftome* to whom *cuftome*, *feare* to whom *feare*, *honour* to whom *honour*. Owe nothing to any man, but to *love* one another, for he that *loveth* another hath fulfilled the *Law*. Love to man, the duty of the whole fecond Table.

How love
fulfilleth
the Law.

If any man doubt (as the Papists speak) whether a man may perfectly fulfill the *Law*; every man of sound judgement is ready to answer him that these words [*He that loveth hath fulfilled the Law*]¹ concerneth not the whole *Law* in the first Table, that is the *worship* and *Kingdome* of *God* in *Christ*.

Secondly, That the Apostle speaks not here of perfect observation of the second Table without failing in word or act toward men, but layes open the summe and substance of the *Law*, which is *love*, and that he that walkes by the rule of *love* toward all *men* (*Magistrates and subjects*) he hath rightly attained unto what the *Law* aims at, and so in *Evangelicall obedience* fulfills and keeps the *Law*.

Hence therefore againe in the 9 verse having discoursed of the 5 Command in this point of *Superiours*, he makes all the rest of the Commandements of the second Table, which concerne our *walking* with man (viz. *Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steale, Thou shalt not beare false witness, Thou shalt not covet*: and if there be any other Commandement, to be briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy selfe*).

And verse 10 *Love* worketh no ill to his neighbour, therefore *love* is the fulfilling of the *Law*, that is (as before) the *Law* concerning our *civill conversation* toward All men, *Magistrates* or *Governours*, and fellow-subjects of all conditions.

¹ The brackets are in the original text.

CHAP. XLVII.

Peace. **A**Lthough the Scripture is sufficient to make ^{Rom. 13} the *man of God perfect*, and the *foole wise* ^{so interpreted} to *salvation*, and our *faith* in *God* must be only founded ^{even by} upon the *Rocke Christ*, and not upon [75] the *sand* of ^{them that} *mens judgements* and *opinions*: Yet as *Paul* alledgeth ^{held per-} the *judgement* and sayings of *unbeleevvers* for their *con-* ^{secution} *viction* out of their owne *tenets* and *grants*: So I pray ^{for con-} you to set downe the words of one or two (not unbeleevvers in their *persons*, but excellent and pretious *servants* and *witnesſes* of *God* in their times, whose *names* are sweet and pretious to all that *fear* *God*) who although their *judgement* ran in the *common streame*, viz. That *Magistrates* were keepers of the 2 *Tables*, *defendors* of the *Faith* against *Hereticks*, and notwithstanding what ever they have written for defence of their *judgements*, yet the *light* of *truth* so evidently shined upon their *soules* in this Scripture, that they absolutely denied the 13 of the *Romanes* to concerne any matter of the first *Table*.

Truth. First, I shall produce that excellent servant ^{Calvins} of *God*, *Calvin*, who upon this 13 to the *Romanes* ^{judgement} ^{of Rom.} writes; ^{13.} *Tota autem hæc disputatio est de civilibus præ-* *fecturis*: *It ag frustra inde sacrilegam suam tyrannidem stabilire moliuntur qui Dominatum in conscientias exercean*: But (saith he) this whole *discourse* concerneth *civill Magistrates*, and therefore in vaine doe they who exercise *power* over *conscienc*es, goe about from this place to establish their *sacrilegious tyranny*.

¹ *Johannis Calvini Commentarii*, edit. A. Tholuck, v: 200.

Gods people loath
to be
found, yet
proved
persecu-
tors.

Peace. I know how far most men (and especially the sheep of *Iesus* will flie from the thought of exercising tyranny over *conscience*) that happily they will disclaime the dealing of all with *mens consciences*: Yet if the Acts and Statutes which are made by them concerning the worship of God be attended to; their profession (and that out of zeale according to the patterne of that *ceremoniall* and figurative state of *Israel*) to suffer no other Religion nor worship in their Territories, but *one*; their *profession* and *practice* to defend their *Faith* from reproach and blasphemy of *Hereticks* by *Civill weapons*, and all that from this very 13 of the *Romanes*; I say if these particulars and others be with feare and trembling in the presence of the most High examined; the wonderfull *deceit* of their owne *hearts* shall appeare unto them, and how *guilty* they will appeare to be of wresting this Scripture before the Tribunall of the most High.

Truth. Again *Calvin* speaking concerning fulfilling of the *Law* by *love*, writes thus on the same place:¹ *Sed Paulus in totam Legem non respicit, tantum de officiis loquitur, quæ nobis erga proximū demāndantur a lege*: That is, *Paul* hath not respect unto the whole *Law*, he speaks [76] only of those duties which the *Law* commands towards our neighbours, and it is manifest, that in this place by our *neighbours* hee meanes *high* and *low*, *Magistrates* and *subjects*, unto whom we ought to walke by the rule of *love*, paying unto every one their due.

Againe, *Cæterum Paulus hic tantum meminit secunde Tabulæ quia de ea tantum erat quæstio*:² But *Paul* here

¹ *Commentarii*, v: 201.

² *Commentarii*, v: 201.

only mentioneth the second *Table*, because the question was only concerning that.

And againe, *Quod autem repetit complementum legis* Calvin *esse dilectionem, intellige (ut prius) de ea legis parte quod* confesseth *hominum societatem spectat: Prior enim legis tabula* that the *quæ est de cultu Dei minimè hic attingitur:*¹ But in first Table that he repeateth that *love* is the fulfilling of the *Law*, concern- *understand* as before, that he speakes of that part of ing Gods the *Law* which respects *humane society*; for the first worship, is *Table* of the *Law* which concerneth the *Worship* of not here in *God* is not in the least manner here touched. Rom. 13.

After *Calvin*, his successour in *Geneva* that holy and Beza upon learned *Beza* upon the word *Ἀγαπήσασθαι*, if there be Rom. 13. any other Commandement it is summed up in this, Thou shalt love thy *neighbour* as thy *selfe*, writes thus: *Tota lex nihil aliud quàm amorem Dei & proximi præcipit, sed tamen cum Apostolus hoc loco de multis hominum officiis differat, legis vocabulum ad secundam Tabulam restringendane puto.*²

The whole *Law* (saith he) commands nothing else but the *love* of *God*, and yet neverthelesse since the *Apostle* in this place discourseth of the *duties* of men one *toward* another, I thinke this terme *law* ought to be restrained to the second *Table*.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Peace. **I** Pray now proceed to the second Argument from this Scripture against the use of *civill weapons* in *matters of Religion* and spirituall worship.

¹ *Commentarii*, v: 202.

² *Beza*, Nov. Test. in loco, edit. Londini, 1585. (Underhill.)

Truth. The Spirit of God here commands subjection and obedience to *higher Powers*, even to the *Romane Emperours* and all subordinate *Magistrates*; and yet the Emperours and Governours under them were strangers from the life of God in Christ, yea most averſe and *opposite*, yea *cruell* and bloody Persecutors of the name and Followers of *Jesus*: and yet unto these is this *subjection* and *obedience* [77] commanded. Now true it is, that as the *civill Magistrate* is apt not to content himſelfe with the *majeſty* of an *earthly Throne, Crowne, Sword, Scepter*, but to ſeat himſelfe in the *Throne of David* in the *Church*: So *Gods* people (and it may be in *Pauls* time) conſidering their high and glorious *preferment* and *priviledges* by *Jesus Christ*, were apt to be much tempted to deſpiſe *Civill Governours*, eſpecially ſuch as were ignorant of the Son of God, and persecuted him in his ſervants.

Paul
writes not
to the Ro-
mane Gov-
ernors to
defend the
truth, and
to puniſh
hereticks.

Now then I argue, if the *Apoſtle* ſhould have commanded this *subjection* unto the *Romane Emperours* and *Romane Magistrates* in ſpirituall cauſes, as to *defend* the *truth* which they were no way able to *diſcerne*, but *persecuted*, (and upon truſt from others no *Magistrate* (not perſwaded in his owne *conſcience*) is to take it.)

Or elſe to puniſh Hereticks, whom then alſo they muſt *diſcerne* and *judge*, or elſe condemne them as the *Jewes* would have *Pilate* condemne the *Lord Jesus* upon the *ſentence* of others, I ſay if *Paul* ſhould have (in this Scripture) put this worke upon theſe *Romane Governours*, and commanded the *Churches of Christ* to have yeelded *subjection* in any ſuch matters, he muſt (in the judgement of all men) have put out the eye of *Faith* and *Reason* and *Senſe* at once.

CHAP. XLIX.

Peace. **I**T is said by some, Why then did *Paul* himselfe, *Act. 25.* appeale to *Cæsar*, unless that *Cæsar* (though he was not, yet) he ought to have beene a fit Judge in such matters?

Truth. I answer, if *Paul* in this *Appeale* to *Cæsar*,^{*Paul's*} had referred and submitted simply and properly the cause of *Christ*, his *Ministry* and *Ministration* to the *Romane Emperours* Tribunall, knowing him to be an *Idolatrous stranger* from the true *God*, and a *Lion-like* bloody persecutor of the *Lord Iesus*, the *Lambe of God*,^{appeale to *Cæsar* discussed.} I say let it be considered whether or no he had committed these 5. *Evils*.^{If *Paul* had appealed to *Cæsar* in spirituall things, he had committed 5. evils.}

The first against the dimmest light of *Reason* in appealing to *darknesse* to judge *light*, to *unrighteousnesse* to judge *righteousnesse*, the *spiritually blinde*, to judge and end the controversie concerning *heavenly colours*.

Secondly, against the cause of *Religion*, which if condemned by every inferiour *Idolater*, must needs bee condemned by the *Cæsars* themselves, who (*Nabuchadnezzar-like*) set up their *State-images* or [78] *Religions*, commanding the *Worlds uniformity* of worship to them.

Thirdly, against the holy State and Calling of the *Christians* themselves, who (by virtue of their subjection to *Christ*) even the least of them are in *spirituall* things above the highest *Potentates* or *Emperours* in the world, who continue in *enmity* against, or in an ignorant naturall state without *Christ Iesus*. This honour or high *exaltation* above all his *Holy ones*, to

binde (not literally but spiritually) their *Kings* in Chaines, and their *Nobles* in Linkes of Iron, *Psal.* 49.

Fourthly, against his owne *Calling*, *Apostleship*, or office of *Ministry*, unto which *Cæsar* himselfe and all *Potentates* (in spirituall and soule matters) ought to have submitted: and unto which in controversies of *Christs Church* and *Kingdome*, *Cæsar* himselfe ought to have *appealed*, the *Church* of God being built upon the foundation of the *Apostles* and *Prophets*, *Ephes.* 2. 20.

Empe-
rours
them-
selves, if
Christians
subject to
the Apost-
les and
Churches
in spiritu-
all things.

And therefore in case that any of the *Romane Governours*, or the *Emperour* himselfe had beene humbled and converted to *Christianity*, by the preaching of *Christ*, were not they themselves bound to subject themselves unto the power of the *Lord Iesus* in the hands of the *Apostles* and *Churches*, and might not the *Apostles* and *Churches* have refused to have baptized or washed them into the profession of *Christ Iesus*, upon the apprehension of their unworthinesse?

Or if received into *Christian Fellowship*, were they not to stand at the Bar of the *Lord Iesus* in the *Church*, concerning either their *opinions* or *practices*, were they not to be cast out and delivered unto *Sathan* by the power of the *Lord Iesus*, if after once and twice *admonition* they persist obstinate, as faithfully and impartially, as if they were the meanest in the *Empire*: Yea, although the *Apostles*, the *Churches*, the *Elders* or *Governours* thereof were poore and meane despised persons in civill respects, and were themselves bound to yeeld all faithfull and loyall *obedience* to such *Emperours* and *Governours* in Civill things.

Were they not (if *Christians*) bound themselves to

have submitted to those spirituall decrees of the Apostles and Elders, as well as the lowest and meanest members of *Christ*, *Act. 16*? And if so, how should *Paul* appeale in *spirituall* things to *Cæsar*, or write to the *Churches* of *Iesus* to submit in *Christiau* or *spirituall* matters?

Fifthly, if *Paul* had appealed to *Cæsar* in spirituall respects, hee [79] had greatly prophaned the holy name of *God* in holy things, in so improper and vaine a *prostitution* of *spirituall* things to carnall and *naturall* judgements, which are not able to comprehend *spirituall* matters, which are alone spiritually discerned, *1 Cor. 2*.

And yet *Cæsar* (as a *civill* supreme *Magistrate*) Lawfull appeales in civill things to Civill Magistrates. ought to defend *Paul* from *Civill violence*, and *scandalous accusations* about *sedition*, *mutiny*, *civill disobedience*, &c. And in that sense who doubts but *Gods* *people* may appeale to the *Romane Cæsar*, an *Egyptian Pharaoh*, a *Philistian Abimelecke*, an *Assyrian Nabuchadnezzar*, the great *Mogol*, *Prester Iohn*, the great *Turke*, or an *Indian Sachim*?

CHAP. L.

Peace. **W**Hich is the third Argument against the *civill Magistrates* power in *spirituall* and foule matters out of this Scripture, *Rom. 13*?

Truth. I dispute from the nature of the *Magistrates weapons*, *vers. 4*. He hath a *sword* (which hee beares not in vaine) delivered to him, as I acknowledge from *Gods appointment* in the free consent and choice of the *subjects* for common good.

We must distinguish of *swords*.

Four
sorts of
swords
mentioned
in the
New Tes-
tament.

We finde foure sorts of *swords* mentioned in the *New Testament*.

First, the *sword* of *persecution*, which *Herod* stretched forth against *Iames*, *Act.* 12.

Secondly, the *sword* of *Gods Spirit*, expressly said to be the *Word of God*, *Ephes.* 6. A *sword* of two edges caried in the *mouth* of *Christ*, *Rev.* 1. which is of strong and mighty operation, piercing betweene the *bones* and the *marrow*, betweene the *soule* and the *spirit*, *Heb.* 4.

Thirdly, the great *sword* of *War* and Destruction, given to him that rides that terrible *Red Horse* of *War*, so that he takes *Peace* from the *Earth*, and men kill *one another*, as is most lamentably true in the *slaughter* of so many hundred thousand soules within these few yeares in severall parts of *Europe*, our owne and others.

None of these 3 *swords* are intended in this *Scripture*:

The Civill
Sword.

Therefore, fourthly, there is a *Civill sword*, called the *Sword of Civill justice*; which being of a *materiall civill nature*, for the defence of *Persons*, *Estates*, *Families*, *Liberties* of a *City* or *Civill State*, and the *suppressing* of *uncivill* or injurious persons or actions by such *civill punishment*, It cannot according to its utmost reach and capacitie [80] (now under *Christ*, when all *Nations* are meerly *civill*, without any such typicall holy respect upon them, as was upon *Israel* a *Nationall Church*) I say, cannot extend to *spirituall* and *Soul-causes*, *Spirituall* and Soule *punishment*, which belongs to that *spirituall sword* with two edges, the

soule-piercing (in *soule-saving* or *soule-killing*) the Word of God.

CHAP. LII.

Truth. **A** Fourth Argument from this Scripture I take in the 6. verse, from *Tribute, custome, &c.* which is a meerly *civill Reward* or *Recompence* for the *Magistrates* worke. Now as the *wages* are, such is the *worke*: But the *wages* are meerly *civill, Custome, Tribute, &c.* not the *contributions* of the Saints or *Churches* of *Christ* (proper to the *Spirituell* and *Christian state*) and such *work* only must the *Magistrate* attend upon, as may properly deserve such *civill wages*, reward or recompence.

Lastly, that the *Spirit of God* never intended to direct or warrant the *Magistrate* to use his Power in *spirituall* affaires and *Religions* worship: I argue, from the *terme* or *title* it pleaseth the wisedome of God to give such *Civill officers*, to wit, (vers. 6.) *Gods Ministers*.

Now at the very first blush, no man denies a double *Ministerie*.

The one appointed by *Christ Jesus* in his *Church*, to gather, to governe, receive in, cast out, and order all the affaires of the *Church*, the *House*, *Citie* or *Kingdome* of *God*, Ephes. 4. 1 Cor. 12. The spirituall Ministry.

Secondly, a *Civill Ministry* or *office*, meerly *humane* and *civill*, which Men agree to constitute (called therefore an humane *creation*, (1 Pet. 2.) and is as true and lawfull in those Nations, Cities, Kingdomes, &c. which never heard of the true *God*, nor his holy The civill Ministry or service.

Sonne *Iesus*, as in any part of the World beside, where the Name of *Iesus* is most taken up.

From all which *premises*, viz. that the scope of the *Spirit of God* in this Chapter is to handle the matters of the *second Table* (having handled the matters of the *first*, in the 12.) since the Magistrates of whom *Paul* wrote, were naturall, ungodly, persecuting, and yet lawfull Magistrates, and to be obeyed in all lawfull Civill things.

Since all *Magistrates* are *Gods Ministers*, essentially *civill*, bounded [81] to a *civill* work, with *civill weapons* or instruments, and paid or rewarded with *civill* rewards. From all which, I say, I undeniably collect, that this *Scripture* is generally mistaken, and wrested from the scope of Gods Spirit, and the nature of the place, and cannot truly be alleadged by any for the Power of the *Civill Magistrate* to be exercised in *spirituall* and *Soule-matters*.

CHAP. LII.

What is
to be un-
derstood
by Evill,
Rom. 13
4.

Peace. **A** Gainst this I know many object out of the 4. verse of this Chapter, that the *Magistrate* is to avenge or punish *Evill*: from whence is gathered, that *Hereſie*, false *Christs*, false *Churches*, false *Ministeries*, false *Seales*, being evill, ought to be punished Civilly, &c.

Truth. I answer, that the word *καταρα* is generally opposed to *Civill Goodnesse* or *Virtue* in a *Commonwealth*, and not to *Spirituall Good* or *Religion* in the *Church*.

Secondly, I have proved from the scope of the

place, that here is not intended *Evill* against the *Spirituell* or *Christian Estate*, handled in the 12 Chap. but *Evill* against the *Civill State*, in this 13. properly falling under the cognizance of the *Civill Minister* of *God*, the *Magistrate*, and punishable by that *civill sword* of his, as an *incivilitie*, *disorder*, or breach of that *civill order*, *peace* and *civility*, unto which all the Inhabitants of a *City*, *Town*, or *Kingdome* oblige themselves.

Peace. I have heard that the *Elders* of the *New-English Churches*, (who yet out of this 13 *Rom.* maintaine *Perfecution*) grant that the *Magistrate* is to preserve the *peace* and welfare of the *State*, and therefore that he ought not to punish such finnes as hurt not his *peace*. In particular, they say, the *Magistrate* may not punish *secret finnes* in the *Soule*: Nor such finnes as are yet handling in the *Church* in a *private* way: Nor such finnes which are private in *Families*; and therefore they say, the *Magistrate* transgresseth to prosecute complaints of *children* against their *parents*, *servants* against *masters*, *wives* against *husbands*, (and yet this proper to the *Civill State*) Nor such finnes as are between the *Members* and *Churches* themselves.

And they confesse, that if the *Magistrate* punish, and the *Church* punish, there will be a greater Rent in their *Peace*.

82] *Truth*. From thence (sweet *Peace*) may we well observe,

First, the *Magistrate* is not to punish all *Evill*, according to this their *confession*.

The distinction of *private* and *publike Evill* will

Some give
to the
Magistrate
what is
not his,
and take
from him

that which is proper to him. not here availe, because such as urge that terme *Evill*, viz. that the Magistrate is to punish *Evill*, urge it strictly, *eo nomine*, because *Heresie*, *Blasphemie*, *false Church*, *false Ministerie* is *evill*, as well as Disorder in a Civill State.

Secondly, I observe, how they take away from the *Magistrate* that which is proper to his cognifance, as the *complaints* of *servants*, *children*, *wives*, against their *parents*, *masters*, *husbands*, &c. (*Families* as families, being as stones which make up the common building, and are properly the object of the *Magistrates* care, in respect of Civill Government, Civill order and obedience.)

CHAP. LIV.

Peace. **I** Pray now (lastly) proceed to the *Authours* Reason why *Christs* Disciples should be so far from persecuting, that they ought to blesse them that curse them, and pray for them that persecute them, because of the *freeneffe* of Gods grace, and the *deepenesse* of his *Councils*, calling them that are *Enemies*, *Persecutors*, *No people*, to become *meeke Lambes*, the *sheep* and *people* of God, according to 1 *Pet.* 2. 20. You which were not a *people*, are now a *people*, &c. and *Matth.* 20. 6. Some come at the *last houre*, which if they were cut off because they came not *sooner*, would be prevented, and so should *never* come.

Unto this *Reason* the *Answerer* is pleased thus to reply :

First in generall ; We must not doe *Evill*, that Good may come thereof.

Secondly, in particular, he affirmeth, "that it is *evill* to tolerate *sedition* *evill doers*, *seducing Teachers*, *scandalous livers*: and for proof of this he quotes *Christs* reproofe to the *Angel* of the *Church* at *Per-* Toleration dis-
gamus, for tolerating them that hold the *doctrine* of cuffed.
Balaam; and against the *Church* of *Thiatyra*, for Upon this
 tolerating *Jesabel* to teach and seduce, *Revel. 2. 14.* point hath
 "20. Mr. John
Goodwin
excellently of late
discourged

Truth. I answer, first, by assenting to the generall Proposition, that it is most true, like unto Christ Jesus himselfe, a sure *foundation*, 1 Cor. 3. Yet what is built upon it, I hope (by Gods assistance) to [83] make it appeare is but *hay* and *stubble*, *dead* and *withered*, not suiting that *golden foundation*, nor pleasing to the Father of *mercies*, nor *comfortable* to the Soules of men.

It is *evill* (saith he) to tolerate notorious evill doers, seducing Teachers, scandalous livers.

In which speech I observe 2 evils:

First that this *Proposition* is too large and generall, because the *Rule* admits of *exception*, and that according to the will of *God*.

1. It is true, that *Evill* cannot alter its nature, but it is alway *Evill*, as *darknesse* is alway *darknesse*, yet

2. It must be remembred, that it is one thing to *command*, to *conceale*, to *councell*, to *approve* *Evill*, and another thing to *permit* and *suffer* *Evill* with *protestation* against it, or *dislike* of it, at least without *approbation* of it. Evill is always Evill, yet permission of it may in case be good.

Lastly, this *sufferance* or *permission* of *Evill* is not for its own sake, but for the sake of *Good*, which puts a respect of *Goodnesse* upon such *permission*.

Hence it is, that for *Gods* owne *Glorie* sake (which

Gods wonderfull toleration. is the higheſt Good) he endures, that is, *permits* or *suffers* the *Veſſels of Wrath*, *Rom. 9.* And therefore although he be of pure eyes, and can behold no iniquitie, yet his pure eyes patiently and quietly beholds and permits all the *idolatries* and *prophaneſſes*, all the *thefts* and *rapines*, all the *whoredomes* and *abominations*, all the *murthers* and *poyſonings*; and yet I ſay, for his *glory* ſake he is patient, and long permits.

Hence for his peoples ſake (which is the next Good in his Son) he is oftentimes pleaſed to permit and ſuffer the wicked to enjoy a longer *reprove*. Therefore he gave *Paul* all the *lives* that were in the ſhip, *Acts 27.*

Therefore he would not ſo ſoone have deſtroyed *Sodome*, but granted a longer *permission*, had there been but 10 righteous, *Gen. 19.* Therefore, *Jerem. 5.* had he found ſome to have ſtood in the *gap*, he would have ſpared others. Therefore gave he *Jeſabel* a time or ſpace, *Revel. 2.*

Therefore for his Glory ſake hath he permitted longer *great ſinners*, who afterward have periſhed in their ſeaſon, as we ſee in the caſe of *Abab*, the *Ninevites* and *Amorites*, &c.

Deut. 24. Hence it pleaſed the *Lord* not onely to permit the many *evills* againſt his owne honourable ordinance of *Mariage* in the world, but was pleaſed after a wonderfull manner to ſuffer that ſin of many [84] wives in *Abraham*, *Jacob*, *David*, *Salomon*, yea with ſome expreſſion which ſeeme to give *approbation*, as 2 *Sam. 12.*

Peace. It may be ſaid, this is no *patterne* for us, becauſe *God* is above *Law*, and an abſolute *Soveraigne*.

Truth. I answer, although wee finde him sometime dispensing with his Law, yet we never finde him deny himselfe, or utter a *falsehood*: And therefore when it crosseth not an absolute *Rule* to *permit* and tolerate (as in the case of the permission of the *soules* and *consciencs* of all men in the world, I have shewne and shall shew further it doth not) it will not hinder our being *holy* as hee is holy in all manner of conversation.

CHAP. LIV.

Peace. IT will yet bee said, it pleaseth *God* to permit Adulteries, Murthers, Poisons: *God* suffers men like *fishes* to devoure each other, *Habac.* 1. the *wicked* to flourish, *Ier.* 12. yea sends the Tyrants of the world to destroy the *Nations*, and *plunder* them of their riches, *Isa.* 10. Should men doe so, the world would be a *Wildernesse*, and beside we have command for *zealous execution* of Justice impartially, speedily.

Truth. I answer, we finde two sorts of *commandes* Two sorts of commands both by Moses and Christ. both from *Moses* and from *Christ*, the two great Prophets and Messengers from the living *God*, the one the type or figure of the later: *Moses* gave positive Rules both *spirituall* and *civill*, yet also hee gave some not *positive* but *permissive* for the common good: So the Lord *Iesus* expoundeth it.

For, whereas the *Pharises* urged it, that *Moses* commanded to give a *Bill of Divorcement* and to put away: the Lord *Iesus* expoundeth it, *Moses* for the hardnesse of your heart *suffered or permitted*, *Math.* Math. 16. 17. 18. 19. 17, 18.

The permission of divorce in Israel.

This was a *permissive command* univerfall to all *Israel*, for a *generall good*, in preventing the continuall fires of Dissentions & Combustions in families (yea it may be Murthers, Poysons, Adulteries) which that people (as the wisedome of *God* foresaw) was apt out of the *hardnesse* of their *heart* to break out into, were it not for this *preventing permission*.

Hence it was that for a further *publike good* sake, and the publike safety, *David* permitted *Ioab*, a notorious malefactor, and *Shimei* [85] and *Adonijah*, &c. And *civill States* and *Governours* in like cases have and doe permit and suffer what neither *David* nor any *civill Governour* ought to doe or have done, were it not to prevent the hazard of the *whole*, in the shedding of much *innocent blood* (together with the *nocent*) in *civill combustions*.

Peace. It may be said, *Ioab*, *Shimei*, *Adonijah*, &c. were only (as it were) reprimed for a time, and proves only that a season ought to be attended for their punishment.

Truth. Answ. I answer, I produce not these instances to prove a permission of Tares (Antichristians, Heretikes) which other Scriptures abundantly prove, but to make it cleare (against the *Answerers allegation*, that even in the *civill State* permission of notorious evill doers, even against the *civill State*, is not disapproved by *God* himselfe, and the wisest of his servants in its season.

CHAP. LV.

Truth. I Proceed. Hence it is that some Generals of ^{Ufurie in a} Armies, and Governours of Cities, Townes, ^{Common-} &c. doe, and (as those former instances prove) law- ^{weale or} fully permit some evill persons and practices: As for ^{Civill} instance, in the *civill State*, *Ufury*, for the preventing ^{State law-} of a *greater evill* in the *civill Body*, as *stealing*, *robbing*, ^{fully per-} *murthering*, *perishing* of the poore, and the hindrance ^{mitted.} or stop of *commerce* and dealing in the *Commonwealth*. Just like *Physicians*, wisely permitting noysome *humours*, and sometimes *diseases*, when the *cure* or *purging* would prove more dangerous to the *destruction* of the *whole*, a *weake* or *crazy* body, and specially at such a time.

Thus in many other instances it pleased the *Father of lights*, the *God of Israel*, to permit that people, especially in the matter of their demand of a *King*, (wherein he pleaded that himselfe as well as *Samuel* was rejected.)

This *ground*, to wit, for a *common good* of the *whole*, ^{Permission} is the same with that of the *Lord Iesus* commanding ^{of the} the *Tares* to be permitted in the *World*, because other- ^{Tares in} wise the *good wheat* should be indangered to be rooted ^{the field of} up out of the *Field* or *World* also, as well as the *Tares*: ^{the world} and therefore for the good sake the *Tares*, which are ^{for a two-} indeed *evill*, were to be permitted: Yea and for the ^{fold good.} generall good of the *whole world*, the field it selfe, ^{1. Of} which for want of this obedience to that command ^{the good} of *Chrift*, hath beene and is laid waste and desolate, ^{Wheat.} with the fury [86] and rage of *civill War*, professedly ^{2. Of the} raised and maintained (as all States professe for the ^{whole} ^{world, the} ^{field it} ^{selfe.}

maintenance of one *true Religion* (after the patterne of that typicall land of *Canaan*) and to suppressē and pluck up these Tares of *false Prophets* and false Professors, *Anticristians*, *Hereticke*s, &c. out of the world.

Hence *illæ lachrymæ*: hence *Germanies*, *Irelands*, and now *Englands* teares and dreadfull *desolations*, which ought to have beene, and may bee for the future (by obedience to the command of the *Lord Iesus*, concerning the permission of Tares to live in the *world*, though not in the *Church*) I say ought to have beene, and may bee mercifully prevented.

CHAP. LVI.

Peace. I Pray descend now to the second *evill* which you observe in the *Answerers position*, viz. that it would bee *evill* to tolerate notorious *evill doers*, *seducing teachers*, &c.

Truth. I say, the *evill* is, that he most improperly and confusedly joynes and couples *seducing teachers* with *scandalous liver*s.

Peace. But is it not true that the world is full of *seducing teachers*, and is it not true that *seducing teachers* are *notorious evill doers*?

Truth. I answer: far be it from me to deny either: and yet in two things I shall discover the great *evill* of this joyning and coupling *seducing teachers*, and *scandalous liver*s as one adequate or proper object of the Magistrates care and worke to suppressē and punish.

First, it is not an *Homogeneall* (as we speake) but an *Heterogeneall* commixture or joyning together of

things most different in kindes and natures, as if they were both of one consideration.

For who knowes-not but that many *seducing teachers*, either of the *Paganish*, *Iewish*, *Turkish*, or *Antichristian* Religion, may be clear and free from *scandalous offences* in their life, as also from *disobedience* to the Civill Lawes of a State? Yea the *Answerer* himselfe hath elsewhere granted, that if the Lawes of a *Civill State* be not broken, the *Peace* is not broken.

Seducing teachers, either Pagan, Jewish or Antichristian, may yet be obedient subjects to the Civill lawes.

Againe, who knowes not that a *seducing teacher* properly sinnes against a *Church* or Spirituall estate and Lawes of it, and therefore ought most properly and onely to bee dealt withall in such a way, and by such weapons as the *Lord Iesus* himselfe hath appointed 87] *gainfayers*, *opposites* and *disobedients* (either within his Church or without) to be *convinced*, *repelled*, *resisted*, and *slaine* withall.

Whereas *scandalous offendours* against *Parents*, against *Magistrates* in the 5 Command, and so against the *life*, *chastity*, *goods* or *good name* in the rest, is properly transgression against the Civill State and Commonweale, or the worldly state of Men: And therefore consequently if the World or Civill State ought to be preserved by *Civill Government* or *Governours*; such scandalous offendours ought not to be tolerated, but suppressed according to the wisdom and prudence of the said *Government*.

Scandalous livers against the Civill state who they are.

Secondly, as there is a fallacious conjoyning and confounding together persons of severall kindes and natures, differing as much as Spirit and Flesh, Heaven and Earth each from other. So is there a silent and implicate *justification* to all the unrighteous and *cruell*

Mr. Cottons tenent justifies all the cruell proceedings against

Chrft and
Christians *proceedings of Jewes and Gentiles againſt all the Prophets of God, the Lord Jeſus Himſelfe, and all His Meſſengers and Witneſſes, whom their Accuſſers have ever ſo coupled and mixed with notorious evill doers and ſcandalous liverſ.*

Elijah was a *troubler* of the *State*; *Jeremy* weakned the hand of the people: yea *Moſes* made the people neglect their worke: the *Jewes* built the *Rebellious* and bad *City*: the three *Worthies* regarded not the command of the *King*: *Chriſt Jeſus* deceived the people, was a *conjurer* and a *trayter* againſt *Cæſar* in being *King* of the *Jewes* (indeed He was ſo ſpiritually over the true Jew the *Chriſtian*) therefore He was numbred with *notorious evill doers*, and nailed to the *Gallowes* between two *Malefactours*.

Hence *Paul* and all true *Meſſengers of Jeſus Chriſt* are eſteemed ſeducing and ſeditious teachers and turners of the *World* upſide downe: Yea and to my knowledge (I ſpeake with honourable reſpect to the *Anſwerer*, ſo far as he hath laboured for many Truths of *Chriſt*) the *Anſwerer* himſelfe hath drunke of this cup to be eſteemed a *ſeducing Teacher*.

CHAP. LVII.

Peace. YEa but he produceth Scriptures againſt ſuch *toleration*, and for *perſecuting* men for the cauſe of *conſcience*: “*Chriſt* (ſaith he) had ſomething “againſt the *Angel* of the Church of *Pergamus* for “tolerating them that held the doctrine of *Balaam*, 88] “and againſt the Church of *Thiatira* for tolera- “ting *Ieſabel* to teach and ſeducer, *Rev.* 2. 14. 20.

Truth. I may answer with some admiration and astonishment how it pleased the *Father of lights*, and most jealous God to darken and vaile the eye of so pretious a man, as not to seek out and propose some Scriptures (in the prooffe of so weighty an assertion) as at least might have some colour for an influence of the Civill Magistrate in such cases: for

First, he saith not that Christ had ought against the City *Pergamus*, (where Sathan had his throne *Rev. 2.*) but against the *Church at Pergamus*, in which was set up the Throne of Christ. Toleration.
Rev. 2. 14,
20. examined.

Secondly, Christs Charge is not against the Civill Magistrate of *Pergamus*, but the Messenger or Ministry of the Church in *Pergamus*.

Thirdly, I confesse so far as *Balaams* or *Iesabels* doctrine maintained a liberty of *corporall fornication*, it concerned the City of *Pergamus* and *Thiaticira*, and the *Angel* or *Officers* of those Cities to suppress not only such *practices*, but such *Doctrines* also, as the *Roman Emperour* justly punished *Ovid* the Poet, for teaching the wanton Art of Love, leading to and ushering on *laciviousnesse* and *uncleannesse*.

4. Yet so far as *Balaams* teachers or *Iesabel* did seduce the members of the Church in *Pergamus* or *Thiaticira*, to the worship of the *Idolaters* in *Pergamus* or *Thiaticira* (which will appeare to be the case) I say so far I may well and properly answer, as himselfe answered before those Scriptures, brought from *Luc. 9.* & *2 Tim. 2.* to prove *patience* and *permission* to men opposite, viz. "These *Scriptures* (saith he) are "*directions* to *Ministers* of the Gospel, and in the end "of that passage he addes, Much lesse doe they speake "at all to *Civill Magistrates*.

Christ
Ministers
& Church-
es have
power
sufficient
from
Christ to
suppresse
Balaam
and Iesabel
seducing
to false
worship.

Fifthly, Either these *Churches* and the *Angels* thereof had power to suppress these doctrines of *Balaam*, and to suppress *Iesabel* from teaching, or they had not :

That they had not cannot be affirmed, for *Christs Authority* is in the hands of his *Ministers* and *Churches*, *Matth.* 16. & 18. & 1 *Cor.* 5.

If they had *power*, as must be granted, then I conclude *sufficient power* to suppress such persons, who ever they were that maintained *Balaams* doctrine in the Church at *Pergamus*, although the very [89] *Magistrates* themselves of the City of *Pergamus*, (if Christians) and to have suppressed *Iesabel* from teaching and seducing in the *Church* had she been *Lady*, *Queen*, or *Empresse*, if there were no more but teaching without hostility : And if so, all *power and authority* of *Magistrates* and *Governours* of *Pergamus* and *Thiatisira*, and all submitting or appealing to them, in such cases, must needs fall as none of *Christs* appointment.

Lastly, From this perverse wresting of what is writ to the *Church* and the Officers thereof, as if it were written to the *Civill State* and the Officers thereof ; all may see how since the *Apostacie* of *Antichrist*, the *Christian World* (so called) hath swallowed up *Christianity*, how the *Church* and *civill State*, that is the *Church* and the *World* are now become one flocke of *Iesus Christ* ; *Christs sheepe*, and the *Pastors* or *Shepherds* of them, all one with the severall unconverted, wilde or tame Beasts and Cattell of the *World* and the *civill* and earthly *governours* of them : The *Christian Church* or *Kingdome* of the Saints, that *stone* cut out of the *mountaine* without hands, *Daniel* 2. now made

The
Christian
world
hath swal-
lowed up
Christian-
ity.

all one with the mountaine or Civill State, the *Roman Empire*, from whence it is cut or taken: *Chriſts lilies*, garden and love, all one with the *thornes*, the *daughters* and *wildernesse* of the *World*, out of which the *Spouſe* or *Church* of *Chriſt* is called, and amongst whom in *civill things* for a while here below, ſhe muſt neceſſarily be mingled and have converſe, unleſſe ſhe will goe out of the *World* (before *Chriſt Jeſus* her *Lord* and *Huſband* ſend for her home into the Heavens, 1 Cor. 5. 10.)

CHAP. LVIII.

Peace. **H**AVING thus (by the help of *Chriſt*) examined thoſe *Scriptures* or writings of *truth*, brought by the Author againſt *Perſecution*, and cleared them from ſuch vailes & miſts wherewith Mr. *Cotton* hath endeavored to obſcure & darken their light: I pray you now (by the ſame gracious aſſiſtance) proceed to his answer to the ſecond head of Reaſons from the profeſſion of *famous Princes* againſt *perſecution* for *conſcience*, K. *James*, Steven of *Poland*, K. of *Bobemia*, unto whom the Answerer returneth a treble answer.

“ Firſt, ſaith he, We willingly acknowledge that “ none is to be *perſecuted* at all no more then they “ may be *oppreſſed* for *righteouſneſſe* ſake.

90] “ Againe, we acknowledge that none is to be “ puniſhed for his *conſcience* though miſinformed (as “ hath been ſaid) unleſſe his Error be *fundamentall* or “ *ſeditiouſly* and *turbulently* promoted, and that after “ due *conviction* of his *conſcience*, that it may appeare

The ſecond head of Reaſons againſt ſuch perſecution, viz. the profeſſion of famous Princes, K. James, Steven of Poland, and K. of Bohemia.

“he is not punished for his *conscience*, but for sinning
“against his *conscience*.

“Furthermore, we acknowledge none is to be *con-*
“*strained* to beleeve or professe the true *Religion*, till
“he be convinced in judgement of the *truth* of it,
“but yet *restrained* he may be from *blaspheming* the
“*truth*, and from seducing any unto *pernicious error*.

Ifa. 40 6.

2 Pet. 2.

Truth. This first answer consists of a *repetition* and
enumeration of such *grounds* or *conclusions*, as Mr. *Cot-*
ton in the entrance of this Discourse laid downe, and
I beleeve that (through the helpe of God) in such
replies as I have made unto them, I have made it
evident what weak *foundations* they have in the Scrip-
tures of truth; as also that, when such *conclusions*
(excepting the first) as *grasse*, and the *flower* of the
grasse shall fade, that holy Word of the *Lord*, which
the Author against such persecution produced, and I
have cleared, shall stand for ever, even when these
Heavens and Earth are burnt.

Peace. His second answer is this: “What Princes
“professe and practice is not a *rule* of *conscience*: They
“many times tolerate that in point of *State-politicie*,
“which cannot justly be tolerated in point of true
“Christianity.

“Againe, Princes many times tolerate offendours
“out of very necessity, when the offenders are either
“too many or too mighty for them to punish, in
“which respect *David* tolerated *Joab* and his mur-
“ders, but against his will.

CHAP. LIX.

UNto those excellent and famous speeches of those Princes worthy to be written in *golden letters* or *rows* of *Diamonds* upon all the gates of all the Cities and Palaces in the World, the Answerer (without any particular reply) returnes two things.

Truth. First, that Princes profession and practice is no rule of *conscience*: unto this as all men will subscribe, so may they also observe how the Answerer Mr. Cottons unquall dealing with Princes. deales with Princes.

One while they are the nursing Fathers of the Church, not only to feed, but also to correct, and therefore consequently bound to [91] judge what is true *feeding* and *correcting*: and consequently *all men* are bound to submit to their *feeding* and *correcting*.

Another while, when Princes crosse Mr. Cottons judgement and practice, then it matters not what the *profession* and *practice* of Princes is; for (saith he) their *profession* and *practice* is no Rule to *Conscience*.

I aske then, unto what *Magistrates* or *Princes* will themselves or any so perswaded submit, as unto *keepers* of both *Tables*, as unto the *Antitypes* of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, and nursing *Fathers* and *Mothers* of the *Church*?

First, will it not evidently follow, that by these Tenents they ought not to submit to any Magistrates in the world in these cases, but to Magistrates just of their owne *conscience*: and

Secondly, that all other *Consciences* in the world (except their owne) must be persecuted by such their Magistrates?

And lastly, is not this to make Magistrates but *steps* and *flirrops* to ascend and mount up into their *rich* and *honourable Seats* and *Saddles*; I meane great and settled maintenances, which neither the *Lord Jesus*, nor any of his first *Messengers*, the true *patternes*, did ever know?

CHAP. LX.

Truth. **I**N the second place hee saith that *Princes* out of *State policy* tolerate what suits not with *Christianity*, and out of *State necessity* tolerate (as *David* did *Joab*) against their wils.

To which I answer,

The Answerer acknowledgeth a necessity of some toleration.

First, that although with him in the first I confesse that *Princes* may tolerate that out of *State policy* which will not stand with *Christianity*, yet in the second he must acknowledge with me, that there is a *necessity* sometime of *State Toleration*, as in the case of *Joab*, and so his former *affirmation* generally laid downe [*viz.* that it is evill to tolerate *seducing Teachers*, or *scandalous livers*] was not duly waighed in the *Balance* of the *Sanctuary*, and is too light.

Christ Jesus the deepest politician that ever was, and yet he commands a toleration of

Secondly, I affirme that that *State policy* and *State necessity*, which (for the *peace* of the *State* and preventing of *Rivers of civill Blood*) permits the *Consciences* of men, will bee found to agree most punctually with the *Rules* of the best *Politician* that ever the *World* saw, the *King of Kings*, and *Lord of Lords*, in comparison of whom [92] *Salomon* himselfe had but a *drop* of *wisefome*, compared to *Christs Ocean*,

and was but a *Fartbing Candle* compared with the *All and Ever glorious Son of Righteousnesse*. Antichristians.

That absolute Rule of this great *Politician* for the peace of the *Field*, which is the *World*, and for the good and peace of the *Saints*, who must have a *civill* being in the *World*, I have discoursed of in his *command* of *permitting* the *Tares*, that is, *Antichristians* or false *Christians* to be in the *Field* of the *World*, growing up together with the true *Wheat*, true *Christians*.

CHAP. LXI.

Peace. **H**Is third Answer is this:

“For those three *Princes* named by you
“who tolerated *Religion*, we can name you more and
“greater who have not tolerated *Heretickes* and *Schismatickes*, notwithstanding their pretence of Con-
“science, and their arrogating the *Crowne* of *Martyr-
“dome* to their sufferings.

“*Constantine* the Great at the request of the *General Councell* at *Nice*, banished *Arrius*, with some
“of his *Fellowes*, *Sozom, lib. 1. Eccles. hist. cap. 19. 20.*

“The same *Constantine* made a severe Law against
“the *Donatists*: and the like proceedings against
“them were used by *Valentinian*, *Gratian*, and *Theodosius*, as *Augustine* reports in *Ep. 166.* Onely *Julian*
“the *Apostate* granted liberty to *Heretickes*, as well
“as to *Pagans*, that he might by tolerating all weeds
“to grow, choake the *vitals* of *Christianity*: which
“was also the practice and sinne of *Valens* the *Arrian*.

“*Queene Elizabeth*, as famous for her *Government*

“as most of the former, it is well knowne what
 “Lawes she made and executed against *Papists*: yea.
 “and *K. James* (one of your owne *Witnesses*) though
 “he was slow in proceeding against *Papists* (as you
 “say) for Conscience sake, yet you are not ignorant
 “how sharply and severely he punished those whom
 “the *malignant* World calls *Puritans*, men of more
 “*Conscience* and better *Faith* then the *Papists* whom
 “he tolerated.

The
 Princes of
 the world
 feldome
 take part
 with
 Christ.

Truth. Unto this I answer: First, that for mine
 owne part I would not use an *argument* from the
 number of *Princes*, witnessing in profession of practice
 against *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, [93] for
 the *truth* and *faith* of the *Lord Jesus* must not bee
 received with respect of *faces*, be they never so high,
 princely and glorious.

Precious *Pearles* and *Jewels*, and farre more pre-
 cious *Truth* are found in muddy shells and places.
 The rich *Mines* of golden *Truth* lye hid under *barren*
 hills, and in *obscure* holes and *corners*.

Princes
 not perfe-
 cuting are
 very rare.

The most *High* and *Glorious God* hath chosen the
poore of the *World*: and the *Witnesses* of *Truth* (Rev.
 11.) are cloathed in *sackcloth*, not in *Silke* or *Sattin*,
Cloth of Gold, or *Tissue*: and therefore I acknowledge,
 if the number of *Princes* professing *persecution* bee
 considered, it is rare to finde a *King*, *Prince*, or *Gov-*
ernour like *Christ Iesus* the *King of Kings*, and *Prince*
 of the *Princes* of the Earth, and who tread not in
 the steps of *Herod* the *Fox*, or *Nero* the *Lyon*, openly
 or secretly persecuting the name of the *Lord Iesus*;
 such were *Saul*, *Ieroboam*, *Ahab*, though under a
 maske or pretence of the name of the *God* of *Israel*.

To that purpose was it a noble speech of *Buchanan*, ^{*Buchanans*} who lying on his *death-bed* sent this *Item* to *King* ^{*Item to*} *James*: Remember my humble service to his *Majestie*, ^{*King*} *James*. and tell him that *Buchanan* is going to a place where few *Kings* come.

CHAP. LXII.

Truth. Secondly, I observe how inconsiderately (I hope not willingly) he passeth by the *Reasons* and *Grounds* urged by those three *Princes* for their practices; for as for the bare examples of *Kings* or *Princes*, they are but like *shining Sands*, or *gilded Rockes*, giving no solace to such as make wofull *shipwrack* on them.

In *K. James* his Speech he passeth by that *Golden* ^{*King*} *Maxime* in *Divinity*, that *God* never loves to plant his ^{*James*} *Church* by *Blood*. ^{*his*} ^{*sayings*} ^{*against*} ^{*persecu-*} ^{*tion.*}

Secondly, that *Civill Obedience* may be performed from the *Papists*.

Thirdly, in his observation on *Revel. 20.* that true and certaine note of a *false Church*, to wit, *persecution*: The wicked are *besiegers*, the *faithfull* are *besieged*.

In *K. Steven* of *Poland* his Speech, hee passeth by ^{*King*} the true difference betweene a *Civill* and a *Spirituall* ^{*Steven*} *Government*: I am (saied *Steven*) a *Civill Magistrate* ^{*of*} ^{*Poland*} ^{*his*} ^{*speech*} ^{*against*} ^{*Persecu-*} ^{*tion.*} over the *bodies* of men, not a *spirituall* over their *soules*.

94. Now to confound these, is *Babel*; and Jewish it is to seek for *Moses*, and bring him from his grave (which no man shall finde, for *God* buried him) in setting up a *Nationall state* or *Church* in a land of

Canaan, which the great *Messiah* abolished at his comming.

Forcing
of Con-
science is
a Soule
rape.

Thirdly, he passeth by in the speech of the King of *Bohemia*, that *foundation* in *Grace* and *Nature*, to wit, that *Conscience* ought not to be violated or forced : and indeed it it is most true, that a *Soule* or *spirituall Rape* is more abominable in *Gods* eye, then to force and ravish the Bodies of all the Women in the World.

Perfec-
for con-
science,
the Laun-
cet that
letteth
blood
Kings &
King-
domes.

Secondly, that most lamentably true *experience* of all Ages, which that *King* observeth, viz. that *persecution* for cause of *Conscience* hath ever proved pernicious, being the causes of all those wonderfull *innovations* of, or changes in the *Principalities* and mightiest *Kingdomes* of *Christendome*. He that reads the *Records* of *Truth* and *Time* with an impartiall eye, shall finde this to be the *Launcet* that hath pierc'd the veines of *Kings* and *Kingdomes*, of *Saints* and *Sinners*, and fill'd the *streames* and *Rivers* with their *blood*.

All
spirituall
Whores
are bloody

Lastly, that *Kings* observation of his own time, viz. that *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, was practised most in *England*, and such places where *Popery* raigned, implying (as I conceive) that such practises commonly proceed from that great *whore* the *Church of Rome*, whose *Daughters* are like their *Mother*, and all of a *bloody nature*, as most commonly all *Whores* be.

CHAP. LXIII.

NOW thirdly, in that the Answerer observeth, that amongst the *Romane Emperours*, they that did not persecute, were *Julian* the *Apollate*, and *Valens*

the *Arrian*; whereas the good Emperours, *Constantine*, *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius*, they did persecute the *Arrians*, *Donatists*, &c.

Answe. It is no new thing for *godly* and eminently *godly* men, to performe *ungodly actions*: nor for *ungodly* persons, for wicked ends to act what in it selfe is *good* and righteous.

Abraham, *Iacob*, *David*, *Salomon*, &c. (as well as *Lamech*, *Saul*, &c.) lived in constant transgression against the *institution* of so holy and so ratified a *Law* of *Mariage*, &c. and this not against the *light* and checks of *conscience*, (as other finnes are wont to be recorded [95] of them) but according to the dictate and perswasion of a *Resolved Soule* and *Conscience*.

David out of *zeale* to *God*, with 30 thousand of *Israel*, and Majesticall *solemnity*, carries up the *Arke*, contrary to the *Order* *God* was pleased to appoint: the issue was both *Gods* and *Davids* great offence, 2 *Sam.* 6.

David in his zeale would build an *house* to entertaine his *God*! what more pious? and what more (in shew) seriously consulted, when the Prophet *Nathan* is admitted Councillour? 2 *Sam.* 7.

And probable it is, that his slaughter of *Uriiab* was not without a good *end*, to wit, to prevent the dishonour of *Gods* name, in the discoverie of his *Adulterie* with *Bathsheba*: yet *David* was holy and precious to *God* still, (though like a *jewell* fallen into the dirt) whereas *K. Abab*, though acting his fasting & *humiliation*, was but *Abab* still, though his Act (in it selfe) was a *duty*, and found successe with *God*.

CHAP. LXIV.

Peace. I Have often heard that *Historie* reports, and I have heard that Mr. *Cotton* himfelfe hath affirmed it, that *Chriftianitie* fell afleep in *Constantines* bofome, and the laps and bofomes of thofe Emperours profefling the name of *Chrift*.

Constantine and the good Emperours are confeft to have done more hurt to the name and crown of the Lord Iefus, then the perfecuting Neroes &c.

The Garden of the Church and Field of the World made all one by Antichriftianifme.

Truth. The unknowing zeale of *Constantine* and other Emperours, did more hurt to *Chrift Iefus* his Crowne and Kingdome, then the raging fury of the moft bloody *Neroes*. In the *persecutions* of the later, *Chriftians* were fweet and fragrant, like fpeice pounded and beaten in morters: But thofe good Emperours, perfecuting fome erroneous perfons, *Arrius*, &c. and advancing the profeflours of fome Truths of Chrift (for there was no fmall number of *Truths* loft in thofe times) and maintaining their *Religion* by the materiall Sword, I fay by this meanes *Chriftianity* was *ecclipsed*, and the Profeflors of it fell afleep, *Cant.*

5. *Babel* or *confufion* was uſher'd in, and by degrees the *Gardens* of the *Churches* of *Saints* were turned into the *Wilderneſſe* of whole *Nations*, untill the whole *World* became *Chriftian* or *Chriftendome*, *Revel.* 12. & 13.

Doubtlefſe thofe holy men, *Emperours* and *Bifhops*, intended and aimed right, to exalt *Chrift*: but not attending to the Command of *Chrift Iefus*, to permit the *Tares* to grow in the *field* of the *World*, [96] they made the *Garden* of the *Church*, and *Field* of the *World* to be all one; and might not onely fometimes in their zealous miſtakes perfecute good wheat in ſtead of *Tares*, but alſo pluck up thouſands of thofe pre-

cious *stalkes* by *commotions* and *combustions* about *Religion*, as hath been since practised in the great and wonderfull changes wrought by such *Wars* in many great and mighty States and Kingdomes, as we heard even now in the Observation of the *King of Bohemia*.'

CHAP. LXV.

Peace. **D**EARE *Truth*, before you leave this passage concerning the *Emperours*, I shall desire

' By a misarrangement a few chapters immediately preceding this passed through the press in the Editor's absence, and without his supervision. Some omitted notes may be inserted here.

The confusion in numbering Chaps. LI.—LIV. is in the original edition. On p. 165 there is reference to a work of Rev. John Goodwin. It was published in London in 1644, the same year with *The Bloudy Tenent*, and was entitled "M. S. to A. S. with a Plea for Libertie of Conscience in a Church Way, &c." He was "a Republican, an Independent and a thorough Arminian; he had been Vicar of Coleman-Street, whence he was ejected, in the year 1645, by the Committee for plundered Ministers, because he refused to baptize the children of his parishioners promiscuously and to administer the Sacrament to his whole parish." Neal's *Puritans*, ii: 45.

On page 173, the Author says "the Roman Emperour justly punished Ovid the Poet, for teaching the wanton Art of Love." When Ovid was fifty years old he was ordered into exile by an imperial edict in which his having published the *Art of Love* was the only reason given. This is regarded by scholars

as a mere pretext, and many conjectures have been offered in regard to the real cause. By some writers it is ascribed to an intrigue with Julia, daughter of Augustus; by others to the discovery by Ovid of incestuous connection of Augustus with his daughter or grand-daughter; by some to his having seen Livia in the bath; by M. Villenave, in a theory which has been received with much favor, it has been supposed that Ovid was the victim of a *coup d'état*; and by a late English writer that he was the accidental witness of some crime of Julia, grand-daughter of Augustus. These solutions of the question are fully considered by Mr. Dyer in *The Classical Museum*, iv: xix.; also in Smith's *Dict. of Rom. Biog.* iii. art. *Ovidius*.

The anecdote of George Buchanan, the great Scotch Latinist, which is related on p. 181, is also found in Bayle's *Dictionary*, ii: 183, *note*. "I have heard a Scotch Lord say that when Buchanan was asked on his deathbed, whether he did not repent of what he had written against the authority of Kings, and in particular against the honor of Mary, Queen of Scots, he answered, I am going to a place where there are not many Kings."

you to glance your eye on this not unworthy observation, to wit, how fully this worthy *Answerer* hath learned to speake the roaring *language* of *Lyon-like Persecution*, far from the *purity* and *peaceablenesse* of the *Lambe*, which he was wont to expresse in *England*. For thus he writes :

“More and greater *Princes* then these you mention “(saith he) have not tolerated *Hereticks* and *Schismatics*, notwithstanding their pretence of Conscience, and their arrogating the Crown of Martyrdom to their sufferings.

The language of Persecutors, the wolves and hunters of the World.

Truth. Thy tender *ear* and *heart* (sweet *Peace*) endures not such *language*: 'Tis true, that these termes, *Hereticks* (or wilfully obstinate) and *Schismatics* (or Renders) are used in Holy Writ: 'tis true also, that such pretend *conscience*, and challenge the *crowne* of *Martyrdome* to their *sufferings*: Yet since (as King *Iames* spake in his [Marke of a false Church]¹ on *Revel.* 20.) the Wicked persecute and besiege, and the Godly are persecuted and besieged; this is the common clamour of *Persecutors* against the *Messengers* and *Witnesses* of *Iesus* in all Ages, viz. You are *Hereticks*, *Schismatics*, *factious*, *seditionous*, *rebellious*. Have not all *Truths witnesses* heard such reproaches? You pretend *conscience*; You say you are persecuted for *Religion*; You will say you are *Martyrs*?

Oh it is hard for *Gods children* to fall to *opinion* and *practice* of *Persecution*, without the ready learning the *language* thereof: And doubtlesse, that Soule that can so readily speake *Babels language*, hath cause to

¹ *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince James*, p. 79 ante p. 32.

fear that he hath not yet in point of Worship left the Gates or Suburbs of it.

Peace. Againe, in blaming *Iulian* and *Valens* the *Arrian*, for [97] “tolerating all weeds to grow, he “notes their sinfull end, that thereby they might “choake the *vitals* of *Christianity*; and seemes to “consent (in this and other passages foregoing and “following on a speech of *Jerome*) that the weeds of *Christ* *Lilies* may “*false Religions* tolerated in the world, have a power flourish in his “to choake and kill true Christianity in the Church.

Truth. I shall more fully answer to this on *Jeromes* Church, speech, and shew that if the weeds be kept out of the notwithstanding the abundance of the *Garden* of the *Church*, the *Roses* and *Lilies* therein will flourish, notwithstanding that weeds abound in the *Field* of the *Civill State*. When *Christianity* began (in the world) to be choaked, it was not when *Christians* lodged in cold *Prisons*, but Downe beds of *ease*, and persecuted others, &c.

CHAP. LXVI.

Peace. HE ends this passage with approbation of *Q. Elizabeth* for persecuting the *Papists*, and a *reproofe* to *King James* for his persecuting the *Puritans*, &c.

Truth. I answer, if *Queene Elizabeth* according to The persecution of the *Answerers Tenent* and Conscience, did well to Queen *Elizabeth* persecute according to her conscience, *King James* and King *James* did not ill in persecuting according to his: For Mr. *Cotton* must grant, that either *King James* was not fit to be a King, had not the essentiall qualifications of *James* compared together. a King, in not being able rightly to judge who ought

to be persecuted, and who not, or else he must confesse that *King James* and all *Magistrates* must persecute such whom in their *Conscience* they judge worthy to be persecuted.

I say it againe (though I neither approve *Queen Elizabeth* or *K. James* in such their persecutions, yet) such as hold this Tenent of persecuting for *Conscience*, must also hold that *Civill Magistrates* are not essentially fitted and qualified for their function and office, except they can discerne clearly the difference betweene such as are to be punished and persecuted, and such as are not.

Or else if they be essentially qualified, without such a religious spirit of discerning, and yet must persecute the *Hereticke*, the *Schismaticke*, &c. must they not persecute according to their conscience and perswasion. And then doubtlesse (though he bee excellent for *Civill Government*) may he easily, as *Paul* did ignorantly, persecute the *Son of God*, in stead of the *Son of perdition*.

98] Therefore (lastly) according to *Christ Jesus* his command, *Magistrates* are bound not to persecute, and to see that none of their subjects be persecuted and oppressed for their *conscience* and *worship*, being otherwise subject and peaceable in *Civill Obedience*.

CHAP. LXVII.

IN the second place I answer and aske, what *glory* to *God*, what *good* to the *soules* or *bodies* of their *subjects* shall *Princes*, did these *Princes* bring in persecuting? &c.

Peace. Mr. Cotton tells us in his discourse upon the third *Violl*, that *Queene Elizabeth* had almost fired the world in *civill combustions* by such her persecuting: "For, though hee bring it in to another end, yet hee confesseth that it raised all *Chriftendome* in combustion, raised the Warres of 88. and the *Spanish Invasion*: and he addes (both concerning the *English* Nation and the *Dutch*) that if *God* had not borne witnesse to his people, and their *Lawes*, in defeating the *intendments* of their *enemies* against both the *Nations*, it might have beene the *ruine* of them both."

In his opening of the 7 Viols, in print, Mr. Cotton confesseth that Queen Elizabeth her persecuting the Papists, had almost ruined the English Nation.

Truth. That those *Lawes* and *Practices* of *Queene Elizabeth* raised those *combustions* in *Chriftendome* I deny not: That they might likely have cost the *ruine* of *English* and *Dutch* I grant.

That it was *Gods* gracious worke in defeating the *Intendments* of their *enemies* I thankfully acknowledge. But that *God* bore witnesse to such *persecutions* and *lawes* for such *persecutions* I deny, for

The Wars betweene the Papists and the Protestants.

First, *event* and *successes* come alike to *all*, and are no *Arguments* of *love* or *hatred*, &c.

Secondly, the *Papists* in their warres have ever yet had both in *Peace* and *War* *victory* and *dominion*; and therefore (if *successes* be the measure) *God* hath borne witnesse unto them.

It is most true what *Daniel* in his 8. and 11. and 12. Chapters, and *Iohn* in his *Revel.* 11. 12. and 13. Chapters write of the great *successes* of *Antichrist* against *Christ Iesus* for a time appointed.

¹ The Pouring out of the Seven Vials; Revelation, with an application of it to our or an Exposition of the 16. Chapter of the Times. The third Vial, p. 7. Lond. 1642.

*Eventus
omnis belli
incertus.*

Succeſſe was various betweene *Charles* the fifth and ſome *German Princes*: *Philip* of *Spaine* and the *Low Countries*: The *French King* and his *Proteſtant Subjects*, ſometimes loſing, ſometimes winning, interchangeably.

The wars
and ſuc-
ceſſe of the
Walden-
ſian wit-
neſſes
againſt
three
Popes and
their po-
piſh Ar-
mies.

But moſt memorable is the famous hiſtory of the *Waldenſes* and *Albingenſes*, thoſe famous *Witneſſes* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who riſing from [99] *Waldo* at *Lyons* in *France* (1160.) ſpread over *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and almoſt all *Countries*, into thouſands and ten thouſands, making ſeparation from the *Pope* and *Church of Rome*. Theſe fought many *Battels* with various ſucceſſe, and had the aſſiſtance and protection of divers great *Princes* againſt three ſucceeding *Popes* and their *Armies*, but after mutuall ſlaughters and miſeries to both ſides, the finall ſucceſſe of victory fell to the *Popedome* and *Romiſh Church* in the utter extirpation of thoſe famous *Waldenſian witneſſes*.

Gods peo-
ple victo-
rious over-
commers,
and with
what wea-
pons.

Gods ſervants are all *overcommers* when they war with *Gods* weapons in *Gods* cauſe and *Worſhip*: and *Revel.* 2. and 3. Chapters, ſeven times is it recorded, To him that *overcommeth* in *Ephesus*, To him that *overcommeth* in *Sardis*, &c. and *Revel.* 12. *Gods* ſervants overcame the *Dragon* or *Devil* in the *Romane Emperours* by three weapons, The blood of the *Lambe*, The word of their *Teſtimony*, and The not loving of their *lives* unto the *death*.

CHAP. LXVIII.

The
third head
of Argu-

Peace. THE *Answerer* in the next place deſcends to the third and laſt *Head of Arguments*

produced by the *Authour*, taken from the *judgement* of *ancient* and later *Writers*, yea even of the *Papists* themselves, who have condemned *persecution* for *conscience* sake: some of which the *Answerer* pleaseth to answer, and thus writeth.

“You begin with *Hilarie*, whose *testimony* without *prejudice* to the *Truth* we may admit: For it is true, the *Christian Church* doth not *persecute*, but is *persecuted*.

“But to *excommunicate* an *Hereticke* is not to *persecute*, that is, it is not to punish an *innocent*, but a *culpable* and *dammable* person, and that not for *conscience*, but for persisting in *errour* against light of *conscience*, whereof he hath beene convinced.

Truth. In this *Answer* here are two things.

First, his *confession* of the same *Truth* affirmed by *Hilarius*, to wit, that the *Christian Church* doth not *persecute*, but is *persecuted*: futing with that foregoing *observation* of *King Iames* from *Rev.* 20.

Peace. Yet to this he addes a *colour* thus: which, saith he, wee may admit without *prejudice* to the *truth*.

Truth. I answer, If it bee a *marke* of the *Christian Church* to bee *persecuted*, and of the *Antichristian* or false *Church* to *persecute*, then those *Churches* cannot be truly *Christian* (according to the first [100] *institution*) which either *actually* themselves, or by the *Civill* power of *Kings* and *Princes* given to them (or procured by them to fight for them) doe *persecute* such as dissent from them or be opposite against them.

Peace. Yea, but in the second place he addeth,

that to *excommunicate* an *Heretick*, is not to *persecute*, but to punish him for sinning against the light of his own *conscience*, &c.

Truth. I answer, if this worthy *Answerer* were thoroughly awaked from the *Spouses* spirituall *slumber*, (*Cant.* 5.) and had recovered from the *drunkenness* of the *great whore*, who intoxicateth the *Nations*, *Revel.* 17. It is impossible that he should so answer: for

The nature of excommunication.

First, who questioneth, whether to *excommunicate* an *Heretick*, (that is, an *obstinate Gainsayer*) as we have opened the word upon *Tit.* 3.) I say, who questioneth whether that be to *persecute*? *Excommunication* being of a *spirituall nature*, a *Sentence* denounced by the *Word of Christ Jesus* the *Spirituall King* of his *Church*; and a *Spirituall killing* by the most sharpe two-edged *Sword of the Spirit*, in delivering up the person *excommunicate* to *Sathan*. Therefore who sees not that his *Answer* comes not neere our *Question*?

Peace. In the *Answerers* second *conclusion* (in the entrance of this *Discourse*) he proves *persecution* against an *Heretick* for sinning against his *conscience*, and quotes *Tit.* 3. 10. which only proves (as I have there made it evident) a *Spirituall rejecting* or *excommunicating* from the *Church of God*, and so comes not neer the question.

Here again he would prove *Churches* charged to be false, because they *persecute*: I say he would prove them not to be false, because they *persecute* not: for, saith he, *Excommunication* is not *Persecution*. Whereas the *Question* is (as the whole *discourse*, and *Hilaries*

own amplification of the matter in this speech, and the *practice* of all Ages testifies) whether it be not a false Church that doth persecute other Churches or Members (opposing her in Spirituall and Church matters, not by Excommunications, but by imprisonment, stocking, whipping, fining, banishing, hanging, burning, &c. notwithstanding that such persons in Civill obedience and subjection are unreprouable.

Truth. I conclude this passage with *Hilarius* and the *Answerer*, That the *Christian Church* doth not persecute; no more then a *Lilie* doth scratch the *Thornes*, or a *Lambe* pursue and teare the *Wolves*, or a *Turtle dove* hunt the *Hawkes* and *Eagles*, or a *chaste and modest* [101] *Virgin* fight and scratch like *whores* and *barlots*.

And for punishing the *Heretick* for sinning against his conscience after conviction, which in the second conclusion he affirmeth to be by a civill sword I have at large there answered.

CHAP. LXIX.

Peace. IN the next place he selecteth one passage out of *Hilarie*, (although there are many golden passages there exprest against the use of Civill Earthly Powers in the Affaires of *Christ*.) The passage is this:

“It is true also what he saith, that neither the *Apostles* nor We may propagate *Christian Religion* by the *Sword*: but if *Pagans* cannot be won by the *Word*, they are not to be compelled by the *Sword*: Nevertheless this hindreth not (saith he) but if

What persecution or hunting is.

Christs Spouse no scratcher or fighter.

Who cannot be won by the Word, must not be compelled

by the
Sword.

“they or any other should *blaspheme* the true God
“and his true *Religion*, they ought to be severely pun-
“ished: and no lesse doe they deserve, if they *seduce*
“from the *Truth* to damnable *Herese* or *Idolatrie*.

Truth. In which Answer I observe, first his Agree-
ment with *Hilarie*, that the *Christian Religion* may
not be propagated by the *Civill Sword*.

Unto which I reply, and aske then what meanes
this passage in his first answer to the former speeches
of the *Kings*, viz. “We acknowledge that none is to
“be *constrained* to beleieve or professe the *true Religion*,
“till he be convinced in judgement of the *Truth* of
“it: implying 2 things.

First, that the *Civill Magistrate*, who is to con-
straine with the *Civill Sword*, must judge all the *Con-*
sciences of their Subjects, whether they be convinced
or no.

Secondly, when the *Civill Magistrate* discerns that
his Subjects *consciences* are convinced, then he may
constraine them *vi & armis*, hostily.

Constraint
upon Con-
sciences in
Old and
New Eng-
land.

And accordingly, the *Civill State* and *Magistracie*
judging in *spirituall things*, who knowes not what
constraint lies upon all *consciences* in *Old* and *New*
England, to come to *Church*, and pay *Church duties*,¹

¹ “By 1 Eliz. c. 2 (g), it was provided, that every inhabitant of the realm or dominion shall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, endeavour themselves to resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed, or, upon seasonable let, to some usual place where common prayer shall be used, on Sundays or holidays, upon penalty of forfeiting for every non-attendance twelve pence, to be levied by the

Church Wardens to the use of the poor.” This and other penal laws in regard to religious opinions was abolished by the statute 9 and 10 Vict. c. 59. Stephen, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, iii: 51.

“Whereas complainte hath bene made to this Court that dyvers persons within this jurisdiction doe vsually absent themselves from church meetings vpon the Lords day, power is therefore giuen

which is upon the point (though with a *ſword* of a finer gilt and trim in *New England*) nothing elſe but that which he confeſſeth *Hilarie* faith true, ſhould not be done, to wit, a *propagation* of *Religion* by the *Sword*. 102] Againe, although he confeſſeth that *propagation* of *Religion* ought not to be by the *ſword*: yet he maintaineth the uſe of the *ſword*, when perſons (in the judgement of the *Civill State*, for that is implied)

to any two Aſſiſtants to heare and ſenſure, either by ſtyne or imprifonm^t, (att their diſcrecon) all miſdemean^{rs} of that kinde committed by any inhabitant within this jurifdiction." *Maſs. Colonial Records*, i: 140. March, 1634-5. cf. *Records* i: 240, Sept. 1638.

To the aſſertion in the text Cotton replies: "I know no conſtraint at all, that lieth upon the conſciences of any in *New-England*, to come to Church: Leaft of all do I know, that any are conſtrayned to pay Church-duties in *New Englād*. Sure I am, none in our Town, neither Church-members, nor other, are conſtrayned to pay any Church duties at all. What they pay they give voluntarily, each one with his owne hand, without any conſtraint at all." *Bloody Tenent Waſhed*, p. 146. Cotton's aſſertion in regard to Boſton is ſuſtained by Winthrop, *New England*, i: 355. "Mr. Cotton preaching out of the 8 of Kings, 8, taught, that their Magiſtrates are forced to provide for the maintenance of miniſters, etc. when the Churches are in a declining condition. There he ſhewed, that the miniſters' maintenance ſhould be by voluntary contribution, etc."

But Williams rejoins, "If Mr. Cotton be forgettful, ſure he can hardly be ignorant of the *Lawes* and *Penalties* extant in

New England that are (or if repealed have been) againſt ſuch as abſent themſelves from *Church Morning* and *Evening*, and for *Non-payment* of Church-duties, although no Members.

"For a *Fredome* of *Not paying* in his *Towne*, it is to their commendation and *Gods praiſe*, who hath ſhowed him and others more of his holy *Truth*: Yet who can be ignorant of the *ſeſſiments* upon all in other *Townes*, of the many *Suits* and *Sentences* in *Courts* (for *Non-payment* of *Church-Duties*) even againſt ſuch as are no Church Members?" *The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody*, p. 216.

Lechford's testimony alſo goes ſomewhat againſt Cotton's general denial: "At ſome places they make a rate upon every man, as well within, as not of the Church, reſiding with them, towards the Churches occaſions; and others are beholding, now and then, to the generall Court, to ſtudy wayes to enforce the maintenance of the Miniſterie." *Plain Dealing*, p. 19. To this may be added two ſentences from Winthrop's journal in 1642: "The churches held a different courſe in raiſing the Miniſter's maintenance. Some did it by way of taxation, which was very offensive to ſome." *New England*, ii: 112.

blaspheme the true *God*, and the true *Religion*, and also seduce others to damnable *Hereſie* and *Idolatrie*. Which becauſe he barely affirmeth in this place, I ſhall defer my Answer unto the after *Reaſons* of Mr. *Cotton* and the Elders of New Engliſh Churches; where Scriptures are alleadged, and in that place (by *Gods* aſſiſtance) they ſhall be examined and answered.

CHAP. LXX.

Tertullian
his ſpeech
diſcuſſed.

P*Peace.* *THE Answerer* thus proceeds: “Your next
“*Writer* is *Tertullian*, who ſpeaketh to
“the ſame purpoſe in the place alleadged by you.
“His intent is only to reſtraine *Scapula* the Roman
“Governour of *Africa*, from perſecuting the *Chriſ-*
“*tians*, for not offering *ſacrifice* to their *Gods*: and
“for that end, fetcheth an *Argument* from the Law
“of *Naturall equity*, not to compell any to any *Religion*,
“but *permit* them to believe or not to believe at all.

“Which we acknowledge; and accordingly we
“judge, the Engliſh may *permit* the *Indians* to con-
“tinue in their *unbeliefe*: nevertheleſſe it will not
“therefore be lawfull to *tolerate* the *worſhip* of *Devils*
“or *Idols*, to the ſeduction of any from the *Truth*.

Truth. Anſw. In this paſſage he agrees with *Tertullian*, and gives inſtance in *America* of the Engliſh permitting the *Indians* to continue in their *unbeleefe*: yet withall he affirmeth it not lawfull to tolerate *worſhipping* of *Devils*, or *ſeduction* from the *Truth*.

The In-
dians of
New Eng-
land per-
mitted by
the Eng-
liſh not

I answer, that in *New England* it is well known that they not onely *permit* the *Indians* to continue in their *unbeliefe*, (which neither they, nor all the

Ministers of Christ on Earth, nor *Angels in Heaven* only to can helpe, not being able to worke beleefe) but they continue in their also permit or tolerate them in their *Paganish worship*, unbeleef (which they cannot cure) which cannot be denied to be a *worshipping of Devils*, but also in their false worship which they might by the civill sword as all false Worship is.¹ restraints.

And therefore consequently according to the same practice, did they walke by *Rule* and *impartially*, not onely the *Indians*, but their *Countrymen*, *French*, *Dutch*, *Spanish*, *Persians*, *Turkes*, *Iewes*, &c. should also be permitted in their *Worships*, if correspondent in *civill obedience*.

103] *Peace*. He addes further, when *Tertullian* saith, That another mans *Religion* neither hurteth nor profiteth any; It must be understood of *private worship* and *Religion* professed in private: otherwise a false Religion professed by the members of the *Church*, or by such as have given their *names* to *Christ*, will be the *ruine* and *desolation* of the *Church*, as appeareth by the threats of *Christ* to the *Churches*, *Revel.* 2.

Truth. I answer (passing by that unsound distinction of *members* of the *Church*, or those that have given their *Names* to *Christ*, which in point of visible profession and *Worship* will appeare to be all one) it is plaine,

First, that *Tertullian* doth not there speake of private, but of publike Worship and Religion.

Secondly, Although it be true in a *Church* of *Christ*, that a false *Religion* or *Worship* permitted, will hurt,

¹ This Cotton denies, (*Bloody Tenent Washed*, p. 147,) and Williams reaffirms. "It is most true, that the Monahigganucks, Mishawomucks, Pautuckseucks and Cawsumseucks (who professe to sub-

mit to the *English*) continue in their publike Paganish Worship of Devils, I say openly and constantly." *Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody*, p. 218.

according to those threats of *Christ*, Revel. 2. Yet in 2 cases I believe a false *Religion* will not hurt (which is most like to have been *Tertullians* meaning.)

In 2 cases
a false Religion
will not hurt
the true Church,
or the State.

First, a false *Religion* out of the *Church* will not hurt the *Church*, no more then *weedes* in the *Wilderness* hurt the inclosed *Garden*, or *poyson* hurt the *body* when it is not touched or taken, yea and *antidotes* are received against it.

Secondly, a false *Religion* and *Worship* will not hurt the *Civill State*, in case the *worshippers* breake no *civill Law*: and the *Answerer* (elsewhere) acknowledgeth, that the *civill Lawes* not being broken, *civill Peace* is not broken: and this only is the Point in Question.

CHAP. LXXI.

Peace. **Y**OUR next Authour (saith he) *Jerome*, crosseth not the “Truth, nor advantagerh your
“Cause; for we grant what he saith, that Heresie
“must be cut off with the sword of the Spirit: but
“this hinders not, but being so cut down, if the
“Heretick will persist in his Heresie, to the seduc-
“tion of others, he may be cut off also by the Civill
“Sword, to prevent the perdition of others. And
“that to be *Jeromes* meaning, appeareth by his note
“upon that of the Apostle, [A little Leaven leaveneth
“the whole lump] Therefore (saith he) a sparke as
“soon as it appeareth, is to be extinguished, and
“the leaven to be removed from the rest of the
104] “dough; Rotten pieces of flesh are to be cut

The seducing or
infecting
of others
discussed.

“off, and a scabbed beast is to be driven from the
“sheepfold; lest the whole House, Body, masse of
“Dough, and Flock, be set on fire with the sparke,
“be putrified with the rotten flesh, sowed with the
“leaven, perish by the scabbed beast.

Truth. I answer, first, he granteth to *Tertullian*,¹ The
that *Herese* must be cut off with the sword of the Answerer
Spirit: yet withall he maintaineth a cutting off by a trusteth
second Sword, the sword of the *Magistrate*; and con- not to the
ceiveth that *Tertullian*¹ so meanes, because he quoteth sword of
that of the Apostle, *A little leaven leaveneth the whole* the Spirit
lumpe. only in
Spiritually
causes.

Ans. It is no Argument to prove that *Tertullian*¹
meant a *civill sword*, by alleading 1 Cor. 5. or Gal.
5. which properly and only approve a cutting off by
the sword of the *Spirit* in the Church, and the purg-
ing out of the leaven in the Church in the Cities of
Corinth and Galatia.

And if *Tertullian*¹ should so meane as himselfe doth,
yet

First, that grant of his, that *Herese* must be cut
off with the sword of the *Spirit*, implies an absolute
sufficiencie in the sword of the *Spirit* to cut it down,
according to that mighty operation of Spirituall
weapons, (2 Cor. 10. 4.) powerfully sufficient either
to convert the Heretick to God, and subdue his very
thoughts into subjection to *Christ*, or else spiritually
to slay and execute him. The abso-
lute suffi-
ciencie of
the sword
of the
Spirit.

Secondly, it is cleare to be the meaning of the
Apostle, and of the Spirit of God, not there to speake
to the Church in Corinth or Galatia, or any other

¹ Thus in the original text, but an evident misprint for *Jerome*.

The Church of Christ to be kept pure. *Church*, concerning any other *dough*, or *house*, or *body*, or *flock*, but the *dough*, the *body*, the *house*, the *flock* of *Christ* his *Church*: Out of which such *sparks*, such *leaven*, such *rotten flesh* and *scabbed sheep* are to be avoided.

A Nationall Church not instituted by Christ Jesus. Nor could the eye of this worthy *Answerer* ever be so obscured, as to run to a *Smiths* shop for a *Sword* of *iron* and *steale* to helpe the *Sword* of the *Spirit*, if the *Sun* of *Righteousnesse* had once been pleased to shew him, that a *Nationall Church* (which elsewhere he professeth against) a *state Church* (whether *explicite*, as in *Old England*, or *implicite*, as in *New*) is not the *Institution* of the Lord *Jesus Christ*.

The nationall Church of the Jewes. The *Nationall typical State-Church* of the *Jewes* necessarily called for such weapons: but the *particular Churches* of *Christ* in all parts of the *World*, consisting of *Jewes* or *Gentiles*, is powerfully able by the *sword* of the *Spirit* to *defend* it selfe, and *offend* Men or Devils, although the *State* or *Kingdome* (wherein such a *Church* or *Churches* [105] of *Christ* are gathered) have neither carnall *speare* nor *sword*, &c. as once it was in the *Nationall Church* of the *Land* of *Canaan*.

1 Sam. 13.

CHAP. LXXII.

Man hath no power to make lawes to binde conscience. *Peace.* **B** *Rentius* (whom you next quote, saith he) speaketh not to your cause. Wee willingly grant you, that man hath no *power* to make *Lawes* to binde *conscience*, but this hinders not, but men may see the *Lawes* of God observed which doe binde *conscience*.

Truth. I answer, In granting with *Brentius* that man hath not power to make *Lawes* to binde *conscience*, hee overthrowes such his *tenent* and *practice* as *restrain* men from their *Worship*, according to their *Conscience* and beleefe, and constraîne them to such *worships* (though it bee out of a pretence that they are convinced) which their owne *soules* tell them they have no *satisfaction* nor *faith* in.

Secondly, whereas he affirmeth that men may make *Lawes* to see the *Lawes* of *God* observed.

I answer, as *God* needeth not the helpe of a materiall *sword* of *steele* to assist the *sword* of the *Spirit* in the affaires of *conscience*, so those men, those *Magistrates*, yea that *Commonwealth* which makes such *Magistrates*, must needs have power and authority from *Christ Jesus* to sit *Judge* and to determine in all the great controversies concerning *doctrine*, *discipline*, *government*, &c.

And then I aske, whether upon this ground it must not evidently follow, that

Either there is no lawfull *Commonwealth* nor *civill State* of men in the world, which is not qualified with this spirituall *discerning*: (and then also that the very *Commonweale* hath more *light* concerning the *Church* of *Christ*, then the *Church* it selfe.)

Or, that the *Commonweale* and *Magistrates* thereof must judge and punish as they are perswaded in their owne *beleefe* and *conscience*, (be their *conscience* *Paganish*, *Turkish*, or *Antichristian*) what is this but to confound *Heaven* and *Earth* together, and not onely to take away the *being* of *Christianity* out of the *World*, but to take away all *civility*, and the *world* out of the *world*, and to lay all upon heapes of *confusion*?

106]

CHAP. LXXIII.

Luthers
testimony
in this
case dis-
cussed.

Peace. **T**He like answer (saith he) may bee returned to *Luther*, whom you next alledge.

First, that the *government* of the *civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then over the *bodies* and *goods* of their *subjects*, not over their *soules*, and therefore they may not undertake to give *Lawes* unto the *soules* and *consciencences* of men.

Secondly, that the *Church* of *Christ* doth not use the Arme of *secular* power to compell men to the true profession of the *truth*, for this is to be done with *spirituall weapons*, whereby *Christians* are to be exhorted, not compelled. “But this (saith hee) hindreth not that *Christians* sinning against *light* of “*faith* and *conscience*, may justly be censured by the “*Church* with *excommunication*, and by the *civill sword* “also, in case they shall corrupt others to the perdition of their *soules*.

Truth. I answer, in this joynt *confession* of the *Answerer* with *Luther*, to wit, that the *government* of the *civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then over the *bodies* and *goods* of their *subjects*, not over their *soules*: who sees not what a cleare *testimony* from his own mouth and pen is given, to wit, that either the *Spirituall* and *Church* estate, the preaching of the *Word*, and the gathering of the *Church*, the *Baptisme* of it, the *Ministry*, *Government* and *Administrations* thereof belong to the *civill body* of the *Commonweale*? that is, to the *bodies* and *goods* of men, which seemes monstrous to imagine: Or else that the *civill Magistrate* cannot (without exceeding the bounds of his office) meddle with those spirituall affaires.

Againe, necessarily must it follow, that these two Mr. Cottons positions evidently proved contradictory to themselves. are contradictory to themselves: to wit,

The *Magistrates* power extends no further then the *bodies* and *goods* of the subject, and yet

The *Magistrate* must punish *Christians* for sinning against the *light* of *faith* and *conscience*, and for *corrupting* the *soules* of men.

The Father of *Lights* make this worthy *Answerer* and all that feare him to see their wandering in this case, not only from his *feare*, but also from the light of *Reason* it selfe, their owne *convictions* and *confessions*.

Secondly, in his joint confession with *Luther*, that the *Church* [107] doth not use the secular power to compell men to the Faith and Profession of the *truth*, he condemneth (as before I have observed)

First, his former *Implication*, viz. that they may bee compelled when they are convinced of the *truth* of it.

Secondly, their owne practice, who suffer no man of any different *conscience* and *worship* to live in their jurisdiction, except that he depart from his owne *exercise* of *Religion* and *Worship* differing from the *worship* allowed of in the *civill State*, yea and also actually submit to come to their *Church*.

Which howsoever it is coloured over with this varnish, viz. that men are *compelled* no further then unto the hearing of the *Word*, unto which all men are bound: yet it will appeare that *teaching* and being taught in a *Church* estate is a *Church* worship, as true and proper a *Church* worship as the Supper of the Lord, *Act.* 2. 46. Hearing of the Word of God in a Church estate a part of Gods worship.

Secondly, all persons (*Papist* and *Protestant*) that are conscientious, have alwayes suffered upon this ground especially, that they have refused to come to each *others Church* or *Meeting*.

CHAP. LXXIV.

Papists
plea for
toleration
of con-
science.

Peace. **T**HE next passage in the *Author* which the *Answerer* descends unto, is the *testimony* of the *Papists* themselves, a lively and shining testimony from Scriptures alledged both against themselves and all that associate with them (as *power* is in their hand) in such *unchristian* and bloody both *tenents* and *practices*.

“As for the *testimony* of the *Popish* booke (saith he) “we weigh it not, as knowing what ever they speake “for *toleration* of *Religion*, where themselves are under “*Hatches*, when they come to sit at *Stern* they judge “and *practise* quite contrary, as both their *writings* “and *judiciall proceedings* have testified to the *world* “these many yeares.

Truth. I answer, although both *writings* and *practices* have been such, yet the *Scriptures* and *expressions* of *truth* alledged and uttered by them, speake loud and fully for them when they are under the *Hatches*, that for their *conscience* and *religion* they should not there be choaked and smothered, but suffered to breathe and walke upon the *Deckes* in the ayre of *civill liberty* and *conversation* in the Ship of the *commonwealth*, upon good assurance given of *civill obedience* to the *civill State*.

108] Againe, if this practice bee so abominable in his eyes from the *Papists*, viz. that they are so partiall as to persecute when they sit at *Helme*, and yet cry out against *persecution* when they are under the *Hatches*, I shall beseech the Righteous Judge of the whole world to present as in a Water or Glasse (where face answereth to face) the faces of the *Papist* to the *Protestant*, answering to each other in the sameness of *partiality*, both of this doctrine and practice.

The Protestants partiall in the case of persecution.

When Mr. *Cotton* and others have formerly been under *hatches*, what sad and true complaints have they abundantly powred forth against *persecution*? How have they opened that heavenly Scripture, *Cant.* 4. 8. Where *Christ Jesus* calls his tender *Wife* and Spouse from the fellowship with *persecutors* in their dens of *Lions*, and mountaines of *Leopards*?

But comming to the *Helme* (as he speaks of the *Papists*) how, both by *preaching*, *writing*, *Printing*, *practice*, doe they themselves (I hope in their persons *Lambes*) unnaturally and partially expresse toward others, the cruell nature of such *Lions* and *Leopards*?

O that the *God* of Heaven might please to tell them how abominable in his eyes are a *waight* and a *waight*, a *stone* and a *stone* in the bag of *waights*! one waight for themselves when they are under *Hatches*, and another for others when they come to *Helme*.

A false balance in Gods matters abominable to God.

Nor shall their confidence of their being in the *truth* (which they judge the *Papists* and *others* are not in) no nor the *Truth* it selfe privileged them to *persecute* others, and to exempt themselves from *persecution*, because (as formerly.)

Sheep cannot hunt, no not the wolves. First, it is against the nature of true *Sheep* to persecute or hunt the *Beasts* of the *Forrest*, no not the same *Wolves* who formerly have persecuted themselves.

Secondly, if it be a duty and charge upon all *Magistrates* in all parts of the *World* to judge and persecute in and for spirituall causes, then either they are no *Magistrates* who are not able to judge in such cases, or else they must judge according to their *Consciencs*, whether *Pagan*, *Turkish* or *Antichristian*.

Pills to
purge out
the spirit
of persecution.

Lastly, notwithstanding their confidence of the *truth* of their owne way, yet the experience of our *Fathers errours*, our owne *mistakes* and *ignorance*, the sense of our own *weaknesses* and *blindnesse* in the depths of the *prophecies* & *mysteries* of the Kingdom of *Christ*, and the great professed *expectation* of *light* to come which we are not now able to comprehend, may abate the *edge*, yea sheath up the [109] *sword* of persecution toward any, especially such as differ not from them in *doctrines* of *repentance*, or *faith*, or *holinesse* of *heart* and *life*, and hope of glorious and *eternall union* to come, but only in the way and manner of the *administrations* of *Jesus Christ*.

CHAP. LXXV.

Peace. TO close this head of the testimony of *Writers*, it pleaseth the *Answerer* to produce a contrary testimony of *Austin*, *Optatus*, &c.

Superstition & persecution have had

Truth. I readily acknowledge (as formerly I did concerning the testimony of *Princes*) that *Antichrist* is too hard for *Christ* at *votes* and *numbers*; yea and

beleeve that in many points (wherein the servants of *God* these many hundred yeares have beene fast asleepe) ^{many votes from Gods owne people.} *superstition* and *persecution* have had more suffrages and votes from *Gods* owne people then hath either been honourable to the *Lord*, or *peaceable* to their owne or the soules of others: Therefore (not to derogate from the pretious *memory* of any of them) let us briefly consider what they have in this point affirmed.

To begin with *Austlin*: “They murther (saith he) “soules, and themselves are afflicted in body, and “they put men to everlasting death, and yet they “complaint when themselves are put to temporall “death.

I answer, This *Rhetoricall perswasion of humane Austlins wisdom* seems very reasonable in the eye of *flesh* and *blood*, but one *Scripture* more prevailes with faithfull ^{sayings for} and obedient soules then thousands of plausible and ^{persecution examined.} eloquent speeches: in particular,

First, the *Scripture* useth *soule-killing* in a large ^{Soul-killing.} sense, not only for the *teaching* of *false prophets* and *seducers*, but even for the *offensive walking of Christians*, in which respect (1 Cor. 8.) a true *Christian* may be guilty of destroying a soule for whom *Christ* died, and therefore by this rule ought to be hanged, burned, &c.

Secondly, That plausible similitude will not prove that every false *teaching* or false practice actually kills the *soule*, as the *body* is slaine, and slaine but once, for *soules* infected or bewitched may againe *recover*, 1 Cor. 5. Gal. 5. 2 Tim. 2. &c.

Thirdly, for *soule-killings*, yea also for *soule-woundings* and grievings, *Christ Jesus* hath appointed reme-

Punish-
ments pro-
vided by
Christ
Jefus
against
Soule-kill-
ers and
Soule-
wound-
ers.

dies sufficient in his *Church*. There comes forth a *two edged sword* out of his *mouth* (Rev. 1. and [110] Rev. 2.) able to cut downe *Heresie* (as is confest) yea and to kill the *Hereticke*, yea and to punish his *soule* everlastingly, which no *sword* of *steele* can reach unto in any punishment comparable or imaginable; and therefore in this case we may say of this *spirituall soule-killing* by the *sword* of *Christs* mouth, as *Paul* concerning the incestuous person, 2 Cor. 2. *Sufficient* is this *punishment*, &c.

Fourthly, Although no *Soule-killers*, nor *Soule-grievors* may be suffered in the *Spirituall* State or Kingdome of *Christ*, the *Church*; yet he hath commanded that such should be suffered and permitted to be and live in the *World*, as I have proved on *Matth.* 13. otherwise thousands and millions of *soules* and bodies both, must be murdered and cut off by *civill combustions* and bloody warres about *Religion*.

Men dead
in Sin, can-
not be
Soule
kill'd.
A Na-
tionall en-
forced Re-
ligion or
a Civill
War for
Religion
the two
great pre-
venters of
soule con-
version
and life.

Fifthly, I argue thus: The *Soules* of all men in the *World* are either naturally *dead in Sin*, or alive in *Christ*. If dead in sinne, no man can kill them, no more then he can kill a *dead man*: Nor is it a false Teacher or false Religion that can so much *prevent* the means of *Spirituall life*, as one of these two; Either the *force* of a *materiall sword*, imprisoning the *Soules* of men in a *State* or *Nationall Religion*, *Ministry* or *Worship*; Or secondly, *Civill warres* and *combustions* for *Religion* sake, whereby men are immediately cut off without any longer *meanes* of *Repentance*.

Now againe, for the *Soules* that are alive in *Christ*, he hath graciously appointed *Ordinances* powerfully

sufficient to maintaine and cherish that *life*, *Armour* of *proofe* able to defend them against *men* and *devils*.

Secondly, the Soule once alive in Christ, is like Christ himselfe, (*Revel. 1.*) alive for ever, (*Rom. 6.*) and cannot die a *spirituall death*.

Lastly, Grant a man to be a *false Teacher*, an *Heretick*, a *Balaam*, a *Spirituall Witch*, a *Wolfe*, a *Persecuter*, breathing out *blasphemies* against *Christ*, and *slaughters* against his *followers*, as *Paul* did, *Act. 9.* I say, these who appeare *Soule-killers* to day, by the grace of *Christ* may prove (as *Paul*) *Soule-savers* to morrow: and faith *Paul* to *Timothy* (1 *Tim. 4.*) thou shalt save thy selfe and them that heare thee: which all must necessarily be prevented, if all that comes within the sense of these *Soule-killers*, must (as guilty of blood) be corporally kill'd and put to *death*.

Soule killers prove (by the grace of Christ) soule savers.

111] CHAP. LXVI. [LXXVI.]

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, your *Answers* are so satisfactorie to *Austins* speech, that if *Austin* himselfe were now living, he thinkes he should be of your mind. I pray descend to *Optatus*, who “(faith *Optatus* examined. “the Answerer) justifies *Macharius* for putting some “*Hereticks* to death, affirming that he had done no “more herein then what *Moses*, *Phineas* and *Elias* “had done before him.

Truth. These are *shafts* usually drawne from the *Quiver* of the *Ceremoniall* and *typicall* state of the *Nationall Church* of the *Jewes*, whose *shadowish* and *figurative* state vanished at the appearing of the *Body* and *substance*, the *Sun* of *Righteousnesse*, who set up

Persecutors leave Christ, & flie to Moses for their practice.

another *Kingdome* or *Church* (Heb. 12.) *Ministrie* and *Worship*: in which we finde no such *Ordinance*, *precept* or *president* of killing men by *Materiall Swords* for *Religions* sake.

More particularly concerning *Moses*, I quærie what *commandement* or *practice* of *Moses* either *Optatus* or the *Answerer* here intend? Probably that passage of *Deut.* 13. wherein *Moses* appointed a slaughter either of a *person* or a *city* that should depart from the *God* of *Israel*, with whom that *Nationall Church* was in *Covenant*. And if so, I shall particularly reply to that place in my *Answer* to the *Reasons* hereunder mentioned.

Concerning *Phineas* his zealous *Act*:

Phineas
his act dis-
cussed.

First, his slaying of the *Israelitish* man, and woman of *Midian*, was not for *spirituall*, but *corporall* filthines.

Secondly, no man will produce his *fact* as *presidentiall* to any *Minister* of the *Gospel* so to act in any *Civill state* or *Commonweale*; although I believe in the *Church of God* it is *presidentiall* for either *Minister* or *people* to kill and slay with the *two-edged sword* of the *Spirit of God* any such bold and open presumptuous finners as these were.

Lastly, concerning *Eliab*: There were two famous *acts* of *Eliab* of a killing nature:

First, that of slaying 850 [450] of *Baals* Prophets,
1 *Kings* 18.

Secondly of the two *Captaines* and their *Fifties*, by fire, &c.

Eliahs
slaughters
examined.

For the first of these, it cannot figure or type out any *materiall slaughter* of the many thousands of *false Prophets* in the *World* by any *materiall sword* of *Iron*

or Steele: for as that passage was [112] *miraculous*, so finde we not any such *commission* given by the *Lord Jesus* to the Ministers of the *Gospel*. And lastly, such a slaughter must not only extend to all the false *prophets* in the World, but (according to the *Answerers* grounds) to the many thousands of thousands of *Idolaters* and false *worshippers* in the *Kingdomes* and *Nations* of the *World*.

For the second Act of *Eliab*, as it was also of a *miraculous* nature: So secondly, when the *followers* of the *Lord Jesus* (Luc. 9.) proposed such a practice to the *Lord Jesus*, for injury offered to his owne person, he disclaimed it with a *milde checke* to their *angry spirits*, telling them plainly they knew not what *spirits* they were of; and addeth that gentle and mercifull *conclusion*, That he came not to destroy the *bodies* of men, as contrarily *Antichrist* doth, alledging these instances from the *Old Testament*, as also *Peters* killing *Ananias*, Acts 5. and *Peters* vision and voice, Arise *Peter*, kill and eat, Acts. 10.

Eliabs consuming the 2 Capitaines and their companies by fire, discouraged.

CHAP. LXXVII.

Peace. **Y**OU have so satisfied these instances brought by *Optatus*, that me thinks *Optatus* and the Answerer himself might rest satisfied.

I will not trouble you with *Bernards* argument from Rom. 13. which you have already on that Scripture so largely answered.

But what thinke you (lastly) of *Calvin*, *Beza*, and *Aretius*?

Truth. Anf. Since matters of fact and opinion are barely related by the Answerer without their grounds, whose grounds notwithstanding in this Discourse are answered. I answer, if *Paul* himself were joyned with them, yea or an Angel from Heaven bringing any other rule then what the Lord *Jesus* hath once delivered, we have *Pauls* conclusion and resolution, peremptory and dreadfull, Gal. 1. 8.

Peace. This passage finished, let me finish the whole by proposing one conclusion of the Author of the arguments, viz. "It is no prejudice to the Commonwealth if Liberty of Conscience were suffered to such as feare God indeed: *Abraham* abode a long time amongst the Cananites, yet contrary to them in Religion, Gen. 13. 7. & 16. 13. Againe, he sojourned in Gerar, and King *Abimelech* gave him leave to abide in his Land, Gen. 20. 21. 23. 24. 113] "*Isaack* also dwelt in the same Land, yet contrary in Religion, Gen. 26.

"*Jacob* lived 20 yeares in one house with his Unkle *Laban*, yet differed in Religion, Gen. 31.

"The people of *Israel* were about 430 yeares in that infamous land of Egypt, and afterwards 70 yeares in Babylon: all which times they differed in Religion from the States, *Exod.* 12. & 2. *Chron.* 36.

"Come to the time of Christ, where *Israel* was under the Romanes, where lived divers Sects of Religion, as Herodians, Scribes and Pharises, Sadduces and Libertines, Theudæans and Samaritanes, beside the Common Religion of the Jews, & Christ and his Apostles. All which differed from the

“ Common Religion of the State, which was like the
 “ Worship of *Diana*, which almost the whole World
 “ then worshipped, *Acts* 19. 20.

“ All these lived under the Government of *Cæsar*,
 “ being nothing hurtfull unto the Commonwealth,
 “ giving unto *Cæsar* that which was his. And for
 “ their Religion and Consciences towards God, he
 “ left them to themselves, as having no dominion
 “ over their Soules and Consciences: And when the
 “ Enemies of the Truth raised up any tumults, the
 “ wisdom of the Magistrate most wisely appeased
 “ them, *Acts* 18 14. & 19. 35.

“ Unto this the Answerer returns thus much :

“ It is true, that without prejudice to the Com-
 “ mon-wealth, Libertie of Conscience may be suf-
 “ fered to such as feare God indeed, as knowing they
 “ will not persist in Heresie or turbulent Schisme,
 “ when they are convinced in Conscience of the sin-
 “ fulnes thereof. But the question is, whether an
 “ Heretick after once or twice Admonition, (and so
 “ after Conviction) and any other scandalous and
 “ heynous offender, may be tolerated either in the
 “ Church without Excommunication, or in the Com-
 “ mon-weale without such punishment as may pre-
 “ serve others from dangerous and damnable infection.

CHAP. LXXIX. [LXXVIII.]

Truth. **I** Here observe the *Answerers partiality*, that
 none but such as truly feare God should
 enjoy *Libertie of Conscience*, whence the *Inhabitants*
of the World must either come into [114] the estate

of men fearing *God*, or else *dissemble* a *Religion* in hypocrisie, or else be driven out of the *World*: One must follow. The first is only the gift of *God*, the second and third are too commonly practised upon this ground.

Againe, since there is so much controversie in the *World*, where the name of *Christ* is taken up, concerning the true *Church*, the *Ministrie* and *Worship*, and who are those that truly feare *God*; I aske who shall judge in this case, who be they that feare *God*?

Dangerous consequences flowing from the Civill Magistrates judging in Spirituall causes.

It must needs be granted, that such as have the power of *suffring* or not *suffring*,¹ such *Consciences*, must judge: and then must it follow (as before I intimated) that the *Civill State* must judge of the truth of the *Spirituall*; and then *Magistrates* fearing or not fearing *God*, must judge of the feare of *God*: also that their *judgement* or sentence must be according to their *conscience*, of what *Religion* soever: Or that there is no lawfull *Magistrate*, who is not able to judge in such cases. And lastly, that since the *Soveraigne power* of all *Civill Authority* is founded in the *consent* of the *People*, that every *Common-weale* hath radically and fundamentally in it a power of true discerning the true feare of *God*, which they transfer to their *Magistrates* and *Officers*: Or else that there are no lawfull *Kingdomes*, *Cities*, or *Townes* in the *World*, in which a man may live, and unto whose *Civill Government* he may submit: and then (as I said before) there must be no *World*, nor is it lawfull to live in it, because it hath not a true discerning Spirit to judge them that feare or not feare *God*.

The World turned upside down.

¹ *Dele* the comma.

Laſtly, although this worthy *Answerer* ſo readily grants, that *Libertie of Conſcience* ſhould be ſuffered to them that feare *God* indeed: yet we know what the *Minifters* of the *Churches of New-England* wrote in answer to the 3 [32] *Queſtion[s]* ſent to them by ſome *Minifters of Old England*,¹ viz. that although

The wonderfull answer of the Ministers of the Church of New England to the

¹ Church-Government and Church-Covenant diſcuſſed, In an Answer of the Elders of the ſeverall Churches in New-England To two and thirty *Queſtions*, ſent over to them by divers *Minifters* in *England*, to declare their judgements therein. London. 1643.

The Preface to this book is by Hugh Peter, Williams's ſucceſſor in the Church at Salem, who had returned to England in 1641, but the work was prepared by the Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorcheſter. Cotton's *Answer*, *Pub. Narr. Club*, ii: 103. Mather's *Magnalia*, i: 409.

The thirty-fiſt queſtion is, "Whether would you permit any *Companie* of *Minifters* and *People* (being otherwiſe in ſome meaſure approvable) to ſit downe by you, and ſet up and praſtiſe another forme of *Diſcipline*, enjoying like libertie with yourſelves in the *Commonwealth*, and accepted as a ſiſter Church by the reſt of your Churches?" p. 6.

The answer is in part, "Who muſt have libertie to ſit downe in this *Commonwealth* and enjoy the liberties hereof is not our place to determine, but the *Magiſtrates* who are the rulers and governours of the *Commonwealth*, and of all perſons within the ſame. And as for acknowledging a company to be a ſiſter Church, that ſhall ſet up and praſtiſe another forme of Church *Diſcipline*, being otherwiſe in ſome meaſure, as you ſay, approvable, we conceive the com-

panie that ſhall ſo doe, ſhall not be approveable therein. * * * And if that *Diſcipline* which we here praſtiſe, be (as we are perſwaded of it) the ſame which Chriſt hath appointed, and therefore unalterable, we ſee not how another can be lawful; and therefore if a company of people ſhall come hither, and here ſet up and praſtiſe another, we pray you thinke not much, if we cannot promiſe to approve of them in ſo doing, eſpecially untill we ſee how approvable the men may be, and what *Diſcipline* it is they would ſet up." pp. 82, 83.

This language, and that of the remainder of the Answer, certainly ſeems to carry all that Williams has put upon it in the text, "that they could not approve their civil cohabitation with them." It is a decided negative to the queſtion. It was not ſtrange that with his experiences Williams ſhould interpret it ſo, even if the language had been leſs explicit. The queſtioners were Preſbyterians, and however it might be with individual diſſidents, it is clear the New England *Minifters* did not mean to allow churches of different conſtitution from theirs to have any place here. From a letter of Hooker's it appears that the publication of the Answer to the *Thirty-Two Queſtions* in England was unexpected, if not unwelcome, to the writers, as liable to "leave a taint of diſparagement upon the cauſe." Palfrey's *Hiſtory*

Ministers of the Church of Old England. they confest them to be such persons whom they approved of far above themselves, yea who were in their hearts to live and die together; yet if they and other godly people with them, comming over to them, should differ in *Church constitution*, they then could not approve their *Civill cohabitation* with them, and consequently could not advise the *Magistrates* to suffer them to enjoy a Civill being within their *Jurisdiction*.

Heare O *Heavens*, and give eare O *Earth*, yea let the Heavens be astonished, and the Earth tremble at such an *Answer* as this from [115] such excellent men to such whom they esteeme for *godlinesse* above themselves.

CHAP. LXXIX.

Peace. YEa, but they say, they doubt not if they were there but they should agree; for, say they, either you will come to us, or you may shew us light to come to you, for we are but weak men, and dreame not of *perfection* in this life.

of New England, ii: 173.

Cotton denies with considerable asperity the inference which Williams has drawn from this Answer. "Now sure, if there were any such Answer to be found in the Booke sounding to such a purpose, I myselfe should joyne with him in the like exclamation, and wonderment. But when I came to search for that speech, and neither finde in the Answer which he quoteth to the third Question, nor in that, which I rather think he meant, the 31. I cannot but admire and adore the righteous Judge-

ment of God, who having left the *Dis-cusser* (in this Booke, and some other) to write against the Truth in point of Doctrine, hath herein left him to breake forth in his own hand-writing, into notorious impudent falshood in matter of fact." *Bloody Tenent Wasped*, pp. 184, 185. Williams makes similar use of this passage in *Mr. Cotton's Letter examined*, &c., p. 19. *Publications of the Narragansett Club*, i: 65. Cotton makes a similar rejoinder, *Answer*, pp. 63, 64. *Publications of the Narragansett Club*, ii: 104.

Truth. Alas, who knowes not what lamentable Lamenta-
ble differ-
ences even
amongst
them that
fear God. differences have beene betweene the same *Ministers* of the *Church of England*, some conforming, others leaving their *livings, friends, country, life*, rather then conforme; when others againe (of whose personall *godlinesse* it is not questioned) have succeeded by *con-* Betweene
the Presby-
terians and
Indepen-
dants, Cov-
enanters
and Non-
covenant-
ers, of both
which
many are
truly godly
in their
persons. *formity* into such forsaken (so called) *Livinges*? How great the present *differences* even amongst them that feare God, concerning *Faith, Justification*, and the evidence of it? concerning *Repentance* and *godly sorrow*, as also and mainly concerning the *Church, the Matter, Forme, Administrations* and *Government* of it?

Let none now thinke that the passage to *New Eng-* land *land* by Sea, or the nature of the *Countrey* can doe what onely the *Key of David* can doe, to wit, open and shut the *Conscienc*es of men.

Beside, how can this bee a faithfull and upright acknowledgement of their *weaknesse* and imperfection, when they *preach, print, and practis*e such violence to the *soules* and *bodies* of others, and by their *Rules* and *Grounds* ought to proceed even to the killing of those whom they judge so deare unto them, and in respect of *godlinesse* far above themselves?

CHAP. LXXX.

Peace. **Y**Ea but (say they) the *godly* will not persist The doc-
trine of
persecu-
tion neces-
sarily and
most com-
monly falls
heavieſt in *Hereſie* or turbulent *Schiſme*, when they are convinced in *Conſcience*, &c.

Truth. Sweet *Truth*, if the *Civill Court* and *Mag-* istracy *istracy* muſt judge (as before I have written) and thoſe *Civill Courts* are as lawfull, conſiſting of *naturall men*

upon the
most godly
persons.

as of *godly* persons, then what *consequences* necessarily will follow, I have before mentioned. And I adde, according to this *conclusion* it must follow, that, if the most [116] *godly* persons yeeld not to once or twice *Admonition* (as is maintained by the *Answerer*) they must necessarily be esteemed *obstinate* persons, for if they were *godly* (saith he) they would yeeld. Must it not then be said (as it was by one, passing sentence of *Banishment* upon some, whose godlinesse was acknowledged) that he that commanded the *Judge* not to respect the poore in the cause of *judgement*, commands him not to respect the holy or the godly person?

The doctrine of
persecution drives
the most
godly persons out
of the
world.

Hence I could name the place and time when a *godly* man, a most desirable person for his trade, &c. (yet something different in *conscience*) propounded his willingnesse and desire to come to dwell in a certaine *Towne* in *New England*; it was answered by the Chiefe of the place, This man differs from us, and wee desire not to be troubled. So that in conclusion (for no other reason in the world) the poore man, though *godly*, usefull and peaceable, could not be admitted to a Civill Being and Habitation on the Common Earth in that Wildernesse amongst them.

The latter part of the Answer concerning the *Hericke* or obstinate person to be excommunicated, and the *scandalous offender* to be punished in the *Commonweale*, which neither of both come neere our *Question*: I have spoken [of] I feare too largely already.

Peace. Mr. *Cotton* concludes with a confident perswasion of having removed the grounds of that great *errour*, viz. that persons are not to be persecuted for cause of *conscience*.

Truth. And I beleeeve (deare *Peace*) it shall appear to them that (with feare and trembling at the word of the Lord) examine these passages, that the charge of *errour* reboundeth backe[,] even such an *errour*, as may well bee called the *bloody tenent*, so directly contradicting the *spirit* and *minde* and *practice* of the *Prince of Peace*; so deeply guilty of the *blood* of foules compelled and forced to *Hypocrisie* in a *spirituall* and *soule rape*; so deeply guilty of the *blood* of the *Soules* under the *Altar*, persecuted in all ages for the *cause* of *Conscience*, and so destructive to the *civill peace* and *welfare* of all *Kingdomes*, *Countries*, and *Commonwealths*.

The
bloody
Tenent.

CHAP. LXXXI.

Peace. **T**O this Conclusion (*deare Truth*) I heartily subscribe, and know the¹ *God*, the *Spirit*, the *Prince*, the *Angels*, and all the true awaked Sons of Peace will call thee blessed.

117] *Truth.* How sweet and precious are these *contemplations*, but oh how sweet the *actions* and *fruits*?

Peace. Thy lips drop as the *Honey-combe*, *Honey* and *Milke* are under thy *Tongue*; oh that these *drops*, these *streames* might flow without a *stop* or *interruption*!

Truth. The glorious white *Troopers* (*Rev.* 19.) shall in time be mounted, and he that is the most *High Prince* of *Princes*, and *Lord Generall* of *Generalls* mounted upon the Word of Truth and Meeknesse

¹ Substitute "that."

(*Psal.* 45.) shall triumph gloriously, and renew our meetings. But harke, what noise is this?

Warres
for Con-
science.

Peace. These are the dolefull *drums*, and shrill sounding *trumpets*, the roaring murdering *Canons*, the *shouts* of *Conquerours*, the *groans* of wounded, dying, slaughtered, righteous with the wicked. Deare Truth how long? how long these dreadfull *sounds* and direfull *fights*? how long before my glad *returne* and *restitution*?

Truth. Sweet Peace, who will beleewe my true report? yet true it is, if I were once beleeved, blest Truth and Peace should not so soone be parted.

Peace. Deare Truth, what welcome hast thou found of late beyond thy former times or present expectations?

Truth. Alas, my *welcome* changes as the *times*, and strongest *swords* and *armes* prevaile: were I beleeved in this, that *Christ* is not delighted with the *blood* of men (but shed his owne for his bloodiest *enemies*) that by the word of *Christ* no man for gainsaying *Christ*, or joyning with his enemy *Antichrist*, should bee molested with the *civill sword*: Were this *foundation* laid as the *Magna Charta* of highest *liberties*, and good *security* given on all hands for the preservation of it, how soone should every brow and house be stucke with *Olive Branches*?

The bleff-
ed Magna
Charta.

Peace. This heavenly *invitation* makes mee bold once more to crave thy patient *eare* and holy *tongue*. *Errour's* impatient and soon tyred, but thou art *Light*, and like the *Father* of *Lights*, unwearied in thy shinings. Loe here what once againe I present to thy impartiall *censure*.

A MODEL of CHURCH and CIVIL Power.

*Composed by Mr. COTTON and
the MINISTERS of NEW-
ENGLAND,*

And sent to the CHURCH at SALEM,
as a further Confirmation of the bloody
Doctrine of PERSECUTION for cause
of CONSCIENCE.

Examined and Answered.

CHAP. LXXXII.

Truth. **V** Hat hast thou there?

Peace. Here is a combination of thine A strange
owne *Children* against thy very life Modell of
and mine: Here is a *Modell* (framed by many able and Com-
learned and godly hands) of such a *Church* and *Com-*
monweale as wakens *Moses* from his unknown Grave, after the
and denies *Jesus* yet to have seene the Earth. Mosaicall
and Jewish
pattern.

Truth. Begin (sweet *Peace*) read and propound.
My hand shall not be tyred with holding the *bal-*
lances of the *Sanctuarie*: doe thou put in, and I shall
weigh as in the presence of Him whose pure eyes
cannot behold *iniquitie*.

Mat. 16. *Peace.* "Thus then speakes the *Preface* or Entrance.
 19. with "Seeing *God* hath given a distinct power to *Church*
 John 20. "and *Common-weale*, the one *Spirituell* (called the
 23. Rom. "Power of the *Keyes*) the other *Civill* (called the
 13. 1. Mat "Power of the *Sword*) and hath made the members
 10. 18. "of both *Societies* subject to both Authorities, so that
 Tit. 3. 1. "every [119] soule in the Church is subject to the
 Acts 15. "higher powers in the Commonweale, and every
 20. Isa. "member of the Commonweale (being a member of
 49. 23. "the Church) is subject to the Lawes of Christs
 Gal. 3. 28. "Kingdome, and in him to the censures of the
 "Church; the Question is, how the Civill State and
 "the Church may dispenche their severall Govern-
 "ments without infringement and impeachment of
 "the power and honour of the One or of the Other,
 "and what bounds and limits the Lord hath set
 "betweene both the Administrations.

Christs *Truth.* "From that conclusion (deare *Peace*) that
 power in "every mem- of the Commonweale, being a mem-
 his Church "ber of the Church, is subject to the Lawes of
 confest to "ber of the Church, is subject to the Lawes of
 be above "Christs Kingdome, and in Him to the censure of
 all Magif- "the Church; I observe that they grant the *Church*
 trates in "of *Christ* in *Spirituell causes* to be superiour and over
 spirituell "the highest *Magistrates* in the World, if members of
 things. "the Church.

Hence therefore I infer, may she refuse to receive,
 and may also cast forth any, yea even the highest (if
 obstinate in Sin) out of her *Spirituell society*.

Hence in this *Spirituell society*, that soule who hath
 most of *Christ*, most of His *Spirit*, is most (spiritually)
 honourable, according to the *Scriptures*, quoted *Acts*
 15. 20. *Isa.* 49. 23. *Gal.* 3. 28.

And if so, how can this stand with their common *tenent*, that the *Civill Magistrate* must keep the first Table[,] set up, reforme the *Church*, and be *Judge* and *Governour* in all *Ecclesiasticall* as well as *Civil causes*?

Secondly, I observe the lamentable wresting of this one Scripture, *Isa.* 49. 23. Sometimes this Scripture must prove the *Power* of the *Civill Magistrates*, *Kings* and *Governours*, over the *Church* in *Spirituall causes*, &c. Yet here this Scripture is produced to prove *Kings* and *Magistrates* (in *Spirituall causes*) to be censured and corrected by the same *Church*. 'Tis true in *severall respects*, he that is a *Governour* may be a *subject*[;] but in *one* and the same *spirituall respect* to *judge* and to be *judged*: to sit on the *Bench*, and stand at the *Bar* of *Christ Jesus*, is as impossible as to reconcile the East and West together.

120] CHAP. LXXXII. [LXXXIII.]

The first head, That both Iurisdicktions may stand together.

Peace. “**V**Hereas divers affecting transcending ^{The first head examined.} “power to themselves over the
“Church have perswaded the Princes of the World,
“that the Kingdome of Christ in His Church can-
“not rise or stand, without the falls of those Com-
“monweales wherein it is set up, we do beleieve and ^{John 18.}
“professe the contrary to this suggestion; the gov-
“ernment of the one being of this World, the other ^{36.}
“not; the Church helping forward the prosperity of
“the Commonweale by meanes only *Ecclesiasticall* ^{Jer. 29. 7.}

Ezra 7.23. "and *Spirituell*; The Commonweale helping for-
 Rom. 1. "ward her owne and the Churches felicity by meanes
 2. 3.
 1 Tim. 2. "politicall or temporall; the falls of Commonweales
 2. "being knowne to arise from their scattering and
 "diminishing the power of the Church, and the
 "flourishing of Commonweales with the well order-
 "ing of the people (even in morall and civill virtues)
 "being observed to arise from the vigilant adminis-
 "tration of the holy Discipline of the Church, as
 "Bodin,¹ (a man not partiall to Church Discipline)
 "plainely testifieth. The vices in the free estate of
 "Geneva, *quæ legibus nusquam vindicantur*, by meanes
 "of Church Discipline, *sine vi & tumultu coercentur*;
 "the Christian liberty not freeing us from subjection
 "to Authority, but from inthrallment and bondage
 "unto sinne.

The Civill *Truth. Anf.* From this *confession*, that the Church
 Common- or Kingdome of Christ may be set up without preju-
 weal and dice of the *Commonweale*, according to *John* 18. 36.
 the Spirit- My Kingdome is not of this *World*, &c. I observe that
 uall Com- although the Kingdome of Christ, the Church and the
 mon weale the *Civill Kingdome* or *Government* be not *inconsistent*, but
 Church, not incon- that both may stand together; yet that they are *inde-*

¹ Jean Bodin (1530-1596) was inclined to Judaism. Bayle, ii: 43-53. An abstract of his great work, *De la Republique*, Paris, 1577, is given by Hallam, *Introduction to Lit. of Europe*, ii: 205-230.

The severity of the civil code in Geneva was closely blended with the ecclesiastical system, and under the predominant influence of Calvin the government became a stern theocracy. "The severity of the legislation thus established is evinced in some of the minute points of

discipline. Brides, for example, were not permitted to wear wreaths in their bonnets, unless of unblemished character. Gamblers were set in the pillory with their cards about their neck; even in 1506 the council had forbidden playing with dice, ninepins, or cards in the public streets. In the years 1546 and 1556 laws were passed prohibiting the manufacture of cards." Henry, *Life of Calvin*, i: 362, also Part 2, Chaps. iii., iv., v.

pendent according to that *Scripture*, and that there-
fore there may be (as formerly I have proved) flour-
ishing *Commonweales* and *Societies* of men where no
Church of *Christ* abideth; and secondly, the *Common-*
weale may be in perfect peace and quiet, notwith-
standing the *Church*, the *Commonweale* of *Christ* be
in *distractions*, and spirituall *oppositions* both against
their *Religions*, and sometimes amongst themselves,
as the *Church* of [121] *Christ* in *Corinth* troubled with
divisions, *contentions*, &c.

sistent,
though in-
dependent
the one on
the other.

Secondly, I observe it is true the *Church* helpeth
forward the prosperity of the *Commonweale* by spirit-
uall meanes, *Ier.* 29. 7. The prayers of Gods peo-
ple procure the *peace* of the *City*, where they abide,
yet that *Christs Ordinances* and *administrations* of
Worship are appointed and given by *Christ* to any
Civill State, *Towne* or *City* as is implied by the instance
of *Geneva*, that I confidently deny.

The *Ordinances* and *Discipline* of *Christ Jesus*,
though wrongfully and prophanely applied to nat-
urall and unregenerate men may cast a blush of *civility*
and *morality* upon them as in *Geneva* and other places
(for the shining brightnesse of the very *shadow* of
Christs Ordinances casts a shame upon *barbarisme* and
incivility) yet withall I affirme that the misapplica-
tion of *Ordinances* to unregenerate and unrepentant
persons hardens up their soules in a dreadfull sleep
and dreame of their owne blessed estate, and sends
millions of *soules* to hell in a secure expectation of a
false *salvation*.

Christs
Ordinan-
ces put
upon a
whole
City or
Nation,
may more
civilize
and mor-
alize, but
never
Christian-
ize them.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

The second head, concerning Superiority of each Power.

The second head concerning superiority of each power.

Rom. 13. 1. 5. 6. Isa. 49. 23. Isa. 49. 23.

Luc. 12. 14 Joh. 8. 11. And that *judicium* of the Church in law suits, 1 Cor. 6. 2. is only *arbitrarium* not *coactivum*.

Peace. “**B**Ecause contention may arise in future times which of these Powers under Christ is the greatest as it hath been under Antichrist, we conceive first, That the power of the Civill Magistrate is superiour to the Church policie in place, honours, dignity, earthly power in the World; and the Church superiour to him (being a member of the Church) Ecclesiastically, that is, in a Church way ruling and ordering him by Spirituall Ordinances according to God for his soules health, as any other member, so that all the power the Magistrate hath over the Church is temporall not spirituall, and all the power the Church hath over the Magistrate is spirituall not temporall: And as the Church hath no temporall power over the Magistrate, in ordine ad bonum spirituale: So the Magistrate hath no Spirituall power over the Church in ordine ad bonum temporale.

“Secondly, the delinquencie of either party calleth for the exercise of the power of terrour from the other part; for no Rulers ordained of God are a terrour to good works, but to evill, Rom. [122] 13. 3. So that if the Church offend, the offence of the Church calleth upon the Civill Magistrate, either to seeke the healing thereof as a nursing father by his owne grave advice, and the advice of other Churches; or else if he cannot so prevaile[,]

“to put forth and exercise the superiority of his power
“in redressing what is amiss according to the quality
“of the offence by the course of civill Justice.

“On the other side, if the Magistrate being a member of the Church shall offend, the offence calleth upon the Church either to seek the healing thereof in a brotherly way by conviction of his sinne; or else if they cannot prevaile, then to exercise the superiority of their power in removing of the offence and recovering of the offendour by Church censures.

If the end of *Spirituell* or *Church* power is *bonum Ans. spirituale*, a spirituall good; and the end of *Civill* or *Truth*. *State* power is *bonum temporale*, a temporall good: And secondly, if the *Magistrate* have no spirituall power to attaine to his temporall end, no more then a *Church* hath any temporall power to attaine to her *Spirituell* end, as is confest: I demand if this be not a contradiction against their owne *disputes, tenents, and practices* touching that question of *persecution* for cause of *conscience*: For if the *Magistrate* be supreme Judge (and so consequently give supreme judgement, sentence and determination) in matters of the first Table, and of the *Church*, and be *custos utriusq; Tabulae*, keepers of both Tables (as they speake) and yet have no Spirituall power as is affirmed, how can he determine what the true *Church* and *Ordinances* are, and then set them up with the power of the Sword? How can he give judgement of a false *Church*, a false *Ministry*, a false *Doctrine*, false *Ordinances*, and with a Civil Sword pull them down, if he have no Spiritual power, authority or commission from *Christ Jesus* for these ends and purposes?

A contradiction to make the Magistrate supreme judge in spirituall causes, and yet to have no spirituall power.

Further I argue thus: If the *civill officers* of *State* must determine, judge and punish in *Spirituall causes*, his *power*, *authority* and *commission* must be either *Spirituall* or *Civill*, or else he hath none at all, and so acts without a *commission* and warrant from the *Lord Jesus*, and so consequently stands guilty at the Bar of *Christ Jesus* to answer for such his practice as a transcendent *Delinquent*.

The Civill
Magistrate
confest to
have no
Civill
power
over the
soules of
men.

Now for *civill power*, these worthy *Authors* confesse that the *Government* of the *civill Magistrate* extendeth no further then over the *bodies* and *goods* of the *Subject*, and therefore hath no *civill* [123] *power* over the *Soule*, and therefore (say I) not in *Soule-causes*.

Nor
spirituall.

Secondly, It is here confest in this passage, that to attaine his *Civill* end or *Bonum temporale*, he hath no *Spirituall power*, and therefore of necessitie out of their own mouths must they be judged for provoking the *Magistrate*, without either *Civill* or *Spirituall power*, to judge, punish and persecute in *Spirituall causes*; and to feare and tremble, lest they come neere those *frogs* which proceed out of the mouth of the *Dragon* and *Beast* and *false Prophet*, who by the same *Arguments* which the *Authours* here use stirre up the *Kings* of the *Earth* to make warre against the *Lambe Christ Jesus*, and his Followers, *Revel.* 17.

CHAP. LXXXV.

IN the next place I observe upon the point of *Delinquencie*, such a *confusion*, as *Heaven* and *Earth* may stand amazed at: If the *Church* offend (say they) after

advice refused, in conclusion the *Magistrate* must redresse, that is, punish the *Church* (that is, in *Church offences* and cases) by a course of *Civill justice*.

On the other side, if the *Civill Magistrate* offend after *Admonition* used, and not prevailing, in conclusion the *Church* proceeds to *censure*, that is, to Excommunication, as is afterward more largely proved by them.

Now I demand, if the *Church* be a *Delinquent*, who shall judge? It is answered, the *Magistrate*. Againe, if the *Magistrate* be a *Delinquent*, I aske who shall judge? It is answered, the *Church*. Whence I observe, (which is monstrous in all cases in the *World*) that one person, to wit, the *Church* or *Magistrate*, shall be at one time the *Delinquent* at the *Bar*, and the *Judge* upon the *Bench*. This is cleere thus: The *Church* must judge when the *Magistrate* offends; and yet the *Magistrate* must judge when the *Church* offends; and so consequently in this case must judge whether she contemne *Civill Authority* in the *Second Table*, for thus dealing with him: Or whether she have broken the rules of the first *Table*, of which (say they) God hath made him *Keeper* and *Conserver*. And therefore, though the *Church* make him a *Delinquent* at the *Bar*, yet by their confession God hath made him a *Judge* on the *Bench*. What *blood*, what *tumults* hath been, and must be spilt upon these grounds?

124] *Peace*. Deare *Truth*, No question but the *Church* may punish the *Magistrate* spiritually in *spirituall* cases; and the *Magistrate* may punish the *Church*, *civilly*, in *civill* cases: But that for one and the same

The
Magistrate
and the
Church,
by the
Authors
grounds, at
one and
the same
time, in
one and
the same
cause,
made the
Judges
on the
Bench,
and Delin-
quents at
the Barre.

cause the Church must punish the *Magistrate*, and the *Magistrate* the Church, this seemes monstrous, and needs explication.

An illustration demonstrating that the Civill Magistrate cannot have power over the Church in spirituall or Church causes.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, I illustrate with this *Instance*: A true Church of *Christ* (of which, according to the *Authors* supposition, the *Magistrate* is a member) chooseth and calls one of her *members* to office: The *Magistrate* opposeth: The Church perswaded that the *Magistrates* exceptions are insufficient (according to her *priviledge*, which these Authours maintaine against the *Magistrates* prohibition) proceeds to Ordaine her officer: The *Magistrate* chargeth the Church to have made an unfit and unworthy choice, and therefore according to his *place* and *power*, and according to his *conscience* and *judgement* he suppresseth such an officer, and makes void the Churches choice: Upon this the Church complaines against the *Magistrates* violation of her *priviledges* given her by *Christ Iesus*, and cries out that the *Magistrate* is turned *Persecuter*; and not prevailing with *admonition*, she proceeds to *Excommunication* against him: The *Magistrate* according to his *conscience*, endures not such *profanation* of *Ordinances* as he conceives; and therefore if no *advice* and *admonition* prevaile, he proceeds against such obstinate *abusers* of *Christs* holy *Ordinances*, (as the *Authors* grant he may) in Civill Court of *justice*, yea and (I adde according to the *patterne* of *Israel*) cuts them off by the *sword*, as obstinate *usurpers* and *prophaners* of the holy things of *Christ*.

The punishments Civill which the

I demand what helpe hath any poore Church of *Christ* in this case, by maintaining this power of the *Magistrate* to punish the Church of *Christ*, I meane

in *spirituall* and *Soule-cases*, for otherwise I question not but he may put all the *members* of the *Church* to death justly, if they commit crimes worthy thereof, as *Paul* spake, *Acts* 23. [xxv: ii.]

Shall the *Church* here flie to the *Popes* Sanctuarie against *Emperours* and *Princes* excommunicate, to wit, give away their *crowns*, *kingdomes* or *dominions*, and invite forraigne *Princes* to make War upon them and their *Territories*? The *Authors* surely will disclaime this; and yet I shall prove their *Tenents* tend directly unto such a practise.

125] Or secondly, shall she say the *Magistrate* is not a true *Magistrate*, because not able to judge and determine in such cases? This, their *confession* will not give them leave to say, because they cannot deny *unbelievers* to be *lawfull Magistrates*: and yet it shall appeare (notwithstanding their *confession* to the contrary) their *Tenents* imply, that none but a *Magistrate* after their own *conscience*, is a *lawfull Magistrate*.

Therefore, thirdly, they must ingenuously and honestly confesse, that if it be the duty of the *Magistrate* to punish the *Church* in *spirituall cases*, he must then judge according to his *conscience* and *perswasion*, whatever his *conscience* be: and then let all men judge into what a wofull state they bring both the *civill Magistrate* and *Church* of *Christ*, by such a *Church-destroying* and *State-destroying* Doctrine.

Peace. Some will here say, in such a case either the *Magistrate* or the *Church* must judge; either the *Spirituall* or *Civill* State must be supreme.

[*Truth.*] I answer, if the *Magistrate* be of another Religion.

Magistrate
inflicts
upon the
Church
for Civill
crimes,
lawfull
and neces-
sary.

The true
way of the
God of
Peace in
differen-
ces be-
tween the
Church &
the Mag-
istrate.

First, What hath the *Church* to judge him being without? 1 Cor. 5.

Secondly, If he be a *member* of the *Church*, doubt-les the *Church* hath power to judge (in *spirituall* and Soule-cases) with *spirituall* and *Church* censures all that are within, 1 Cor. 5.

Thirdly, If the *Church* offend against the *civill* peace of the *State*, by wronging the *bodies* or *goods* of any, the *Magistrate* bears not the sword in vaine, Rom. 13. to correct any or all the members of the *Church*. And this I conceive to be the onely way of the God of Peace.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

The third head concerns the End of both these Powers.

[*Peace.*] “**F**irst the common and last end of both is Gods glory, and Mans eternall felicitie.

“Secondly, the proper ends:

“First of Commonwealth, is the procuring, pre-
“serving, increasng of externall and temporall peace
“and felicitie of the State in all Godlines and Hon-
“estie, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2.

126] “Secondly, of the Church, a begetting, preserv-
“ing, increasng of internall and spirituall peace and
“felicity of the Church, in all godlinesse and honesty,
“*Esay* 2. 3, 4. and 9. 7. So that Magistrates have
“power given them from Christ in matters of Relig-
“ion, because they are bound to see that outward
“peace be preserved, not in all ungodlinesse and dis-
“honesty (for such peace is Satanicall) but in all god-

“lineſſe and honeſty, for ſuch peace God aymes at.
 “And hence the Magiſtrate is *cuſtos* of both the
 “Tables of godlineſſe, in the firſt of Honeſty, in the
 “ſecond for Peace ſake. Hee muſt ſee that honeſty
 “be preſerved within his juuriſdiction, or elſe the ſub-
 “ject will not be *bonus Cives*. Hee muſt ſee that
 “godlineſſe as well as honeſty be preſerved, elſe the
 “ſubject will not be *bonus vir*, who is the beſt *bonus*
 “*cives*. Hee muſt ſee that godlineſſe and honeſty
 “be preſerved, or elſe himſelfe will not bee *bonus*
 “*Magiſtratus*.

Chamer.
 de Eccleſ.
 p. 376.
 Park. part.
 polit. lib.
 1. cap. 1.

Truth. In this paſſage here are divers particulars
 affirmed marvellous deſtructive both to *godlineſſe* and
honeſty, though under a faire maſke and colour of
 both.

Fiſt, it will appeare that in ſpirituall things they
 make the *Garden* and the *Wilderneſſe* (as often I have
 intimated) I ſay the *Garden* and the *Wilderneſſe*, the
Church and the *World* are all one: for thus,

The Gar-
 den of the
 Church
 and the
 Wilder-
 neſſe of the
 World
 made all
 one.

If the *Powers* of the *World* or *Civill State*, are
 bound to propoſe *externall* Peace in all *godlineſſe* for
 their end, and the end of the *Church* be to preſerve
 internall Peace in all *godlineſſe*, I demand if their end
 (*godlineſſe*) bee the ſame, is not their *power* and *ſtate*
 the ſame alſo, unleſſe they make the *Church ſubordi-*
nate to the *Commonwealths* end, or the *Commonweale*
ſubordinate to the *Churches* end, which (being the
governour and ſetter up of it, and ſo conſequently the
Judges of it) it cannot be?

Now if *godlineſſe* bee the *worſhipping* and walking
 with *God* in *Chriſt*, is not the Magiſtrate and Com-

The Com-
 monweale
 more

charged
by these
Authors
with the
Worship
and Ordina-
nces,
then the
Church.

monweale charged more by this *tenent* with the *worship* and *Ordinances* of *God*, then the *Church*, [?] for the *Magistrate* they charge with the externall peace in *godlinesse*, and the *Church* but with the *internall*.

I aske further, what is this internall peace in all *godlinesse*? whether intend they internall within the *Soule*, which onely the eye of *God* can see, opposed to *externall* or *visible*, which man also can discerne? or else whether they meane internall, that is spirituall *soule* matters, matters of *Gods Worship*, and then I say that peace (to [127] wit, of *godlinesse* or *Gods worship*) they had before granted to the *civill State*?

The au-
thors of
these Posi-
tions never
yet saw a
true differ-
ence be-
tweene the
Church of
Christ and
the world,
in point of
worship.

Peace. The Truth is, (as I now perceive) the best and most *godly* of that *judgement* declare themselves never to have seene a true *difference* betweene the *Church* and the *World*, and the *Spirituell* and *Civill State*; and howsoever these worthy *Authours* seeme to make a kinde of *separation* from the *World*, and professe that the *Church* must consist of spirituall and *living Stones*, *Saints*, *Regenerate* persons, and so make some peculiar inclosed *Ordinances*, as the Supper of the *Lord*, (which none, say they, but *godly* persons must taste of) yet by compelling all within their *Jurisdiction* to an outward *conformity* of the *Church worship*, of the *Word* and *Prayer*, and *maintenance* of the *Ministry* thereof, they evidently declare that they still lodge and dwell in the confused mixtures of the *uncleane* and *cleane*, of the *flock* of *Christ*, and *Herd*s of the *World* together, I meane in *spirituall* and *religious* worship.

Truth. For a more full and clear discussion of this Scripture, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1. 2. (on which is weakly built such a mighty building) I shall propose and resolve these foure *Queries*.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

First, what is meant by *godlinesse* and *honesty* in this place. 1 *Tim.* 2.
1. discuff-
ed.

Secondly, what may the *scope* of the holy *Spirit* of *God* be in this place.

Thirdly, whether the *civill Magistrate* was then *custos utriusque Tabulæ*, keeper of both *Tables*, &c.

Fourthly, whether a *Church* or *Congregation* of *Christians* may not live in *godlinesse* and *honesty*, although the *civill Magistrate* be of another *conscience* and *worship*, and the whole *State* and *Country* with him.

To the first, What is here meant by *godlinesse* and *honesty*? The word
honesty in
this place
of Timo-
thy can-
not signi-
fie here
the hon-
esty or
righteous-
nesse of
the second
Table.

Ans^w. I finde not that the *Spirit* of *God* here intendeth the first and second Table.

For, how ever the word *Ευσέβεια* signifie *godlinesse*, or the *worship* of *God*, yet the second word *Σεμνότης* I finde not that it signifies such an *honesty* as compriseth the *duties* of the second Table, but such an *honesty* as signifies *solemnity*, *gravity*, and so it is turned by the *Translatours*, Tit. 2. 7. ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀδολφθορίας, σεμνότητι, that is, in [128] *doctrine*, *incorruptnesse*, *gravity*: which *doctrine* cannot there bee taken for the *doctrine* of the *civill state*, or second Table, but the *gravity*, *majesty*, and *solemnity* of the spirituall

doctrine of Christianity. So that according to the Translatours owne rendring of that word in *Titus*, this place of *Timothy* should be thus rendred [In all *godlinesse* (or *worshipping* of *God*) and *gravity*] that is, a solemne or grave profession of the *worship* of *God*; and yet this mistaken and misinterpreted *Scripture* is that great *Castle* and strong *Hold* which so many flye unto concerning the *Magistrates charge* over the two *Tables*.

Secondly, what is the *scope* of the *Spirit* of *God* in this place?

The scope
of Gods
Spirit in
this place
of Timo-
thy.

I answer first *negatively*, the *scope* is not to speake of the *duties* of the *first* and second *Table*:

Nor secondly is the *scope* to charge the *Magistrate* with forcing the people (who have chose him) to *godlinesse* or *Gods worship*, according to his *conscience*, (the *Magistrate* keeping the peace of externall *godlinesse*, and the *Church* of *internall*, as is affirmed :) but

Secondly, *positively*, I say the *Spirit* of *God* by *Paul* in this place provokes *Timothy* and the *Church* at *Ephesus*, and so consequently all the *Ministers* of *Christs Churches* and *Christians*, to pray for two things.

Gods peo-
ple must
pray for
and en-
deavour
the peace
of the
State they
live in.
Although
Pagan or
Popish.

First, for the peaceable and quiet state of the Countries and places of their abode,[:] that is implied in their praying (as *Paul* directs them) for a quiet and *peaceable* condition, and suits sweetly with the command of the *Lord* to his people, even in *Babel*, *Jer.* 29. 7. Pray for the peace of the *City*, and seeke the *good* of it, for in the *Peace* thereof it shall goe well with you. Which *Rule* will hold in any *Pagan* or *Popish city*, and therefore consequently are *Gods*

people to pray against *Warres, Famines, Pestilences*, and especially to bee far from kindling coales of *War*, and endeavour the bringing in and advancing their *conscience* by the *sword*.

Secondly, they are here commanded to pray for the *salvation* of *all men*, that *all men*, and especially *Kings* and *Magistrates* might be saved, and come to the knowledge of the *truth*, implying that the grave or solemne and shining *profession* of *godlinesse* or *Gods worship* according to *Christ Jesus*, is a blessed meanes to cause *all* sorts of men to be affected with the *Christian profession*, and to come to the same knowledge of that *one God* and *one Mediatour Christ Jesus*. All which tends directly against what it is brought for, to wit, the [129] *Magistrates* forcing *all* men to *god-* Forcing of men to godlinesse or Gods worship, the greatest cause of breach of Civill peace. *linesse* or the *worshipping* of *God*, which in truth causeth the greatest *breach* of *peace*, and the greatest *distractions* in the *World*, and the setting up that for *godlinesse* or *worship* which is no more then *Nebuchadnezzars golden Image*, a *State worship*, and in some places the *worship* of the *Beast*, and his *Image*, *Dan.* 3. *Rev.* 13.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

THirdly, I quærie whether the *Civill Magistrate* (which was then the *Roman Emperour*) was *keeper* or *guardian* of both *Tables* (as is affirmed.)

Scripture and all *History* tell us, that those *Cæsars* The Roman Cæsars described. were not only ignorant, without *God*, without *Christ*, &c. but professed *worshippers* or *maintainers* of the *Roman gods* or *divells*; as also notorious for all sorts

Not appointed by
Christ
Jesus keepers and
guardians of his
Church.

of *wickednesse*, and lastly, *cruell* and bloody *Lions*, and *Tygers* toward the *Christians* for many hundred yeares.

Hence I argue from the *wisdom*, *love* and *faithfulness* of the Lord *Jesus* in his *house*, it was impossible that he should appoint such *ignorant*, such *Idolaters*, such *wicked* and such *cruell* persons to be his *chiefe Officers* and *Deputy Lieutenants* under himselfe to keep the *worship* of *God*, to guard his *Church*, his *Wife*: No wise and loving father was ever knowne to put his *childe*, no not his *beasts*, *dogs* or *swine*, but unto fitting keepers.

Men judge it matter of high complaint, that the *Records* of *Parliament*, the *Kings children*, the *Tower* of *London*, the *Great Seale* should be committed to unworthy *keepers*! And can it be without high *blasphemie* conceived that the Lord *Jesus* should commit his *Sheep*, his *Children*, yea his *Spouse*, his thousand *shields* and *bucklers* in the *Tower* of his *Church*! and lastly, his *Great* and *Glorious Broad Seales* of *Baptisme* and his *Supper*, to be preserved pure in their *administrations*, I say that the Lord *Jesus* who is *wisdom*, and *faithfulness* it selfe, should deliver these to such *keepers*.

Peace. Some will say, it is one thing what persons are in *fact* and *practice*: another what they ought to be by *right* and *office*.

Truth. In such cases as I have mentioned, no man doth in the common eye of *reason* deliver such matters of *charge* and *trust* to such as declare *themselves* and *sinnes* (like *Sodome*) at the very time of this great charge and trust to be committed to them.

130] *Peace*. It will further be said, that many of the

Kings of Judah who had the charge of *establiſhing*, *reforming* (and ſo conſequently of keeping the firſt Table) the *Church*, *Gods worſhip*, &c. were notoriously wicked, *Idolatrours*, &c.

Truth. I muſt then ſay, the caſe is not alike, for when the *Lord* appointed the *government* of *Iſrael* after the rejection of *Saul* to eſtabliſh a Covenant of *ſucceſſion* in the type unto *Chriſt*, let it bee minded what *patterne* and *preſident* it pleaſed the *Lord* to ſet for the after *Kings* of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, in *David* the man after His owne *Heart*.

But now the *Lord Jeſus* being come Himſelfe, and having fulfilled the former types, and diſſolved the *Nationall ſtate* of the *Church*, and eſtabliſhed a more Spirituall way of *worſhip* all the *World* over, and appointed a *Spirituall government* and *governours*, it is well knowne what the *Roman Cæſars* were, under whom both *Chriſt Jeſus Himſelfe* and his *Servants* after him lived and ſuffered; ſo that if the *Lord Jeſus* had appointed any ſuch *Deputies* (as we finde not a tittle to that purpoſe, nor have a ſhadow of true reaſon ſo to thinke) he muſt I ſay in the very firſt *inſtitution*, have pitched upon ſuch perſons for theſe *Cuſtodes utriuſq; Tabulæ*, keepers of both Tables, as no man wiſe, or faithfull or loving, would have choſen in any of the former *Inſtances* or caſes of a more inferiour nature.

Beſide to that great *pretence* of *Iſrael*, I have largely ſpoken to.

Secondly, I aſke how could the *Roman Cæſars* or any *Civill Magiſtrates* be *cuſtodes*, keepers of the *Church* and *worſhip* of *God*, when as the *Authours* of

It pleaſed
not the
Lord Jeſus
in the firſt
inſtitution
of his
Church to
furniſh
himſelfe
with any
ſuch Civill
Govern-
ours, as
unto
whom hee
might
commit
the care
of his
worſhip.

these *positions* acknowledge, that their *Civill power* extends but to *bodies* and *goods*.

And for *Spirituell power* they say they have none, *ad bonum temporale* (to a temporall good) which is their proper end, and then having neither *Civill* nor *Spirituell power* from the Lord *Iesus* to this purpose, how come they to be such Keepers as is pretended?

The true
Keepers
which
Christ
Iesus ap-
pointed, of
his Ordi-
nances and
Worship.

Thirdly, If the *Roman Emperours* were Keepers, what Keepers were the *Apostles*, unto whom the Lord *Iesus* gave the care and charge of the *Churches*, and by whom the Lord *Iesus* charged *Timothy*, 1 *Tim.* 6. to keep those *commands* of the Lord *Iesus* without spot untill his *comming*.

These Keepers were called the foundation of the *Church*, *Ephes.* 2. 20. and made up the *Crowne* of 12 Stars about the head of the [131] *Woman*, *Rev.* 12. whose names were also written in the 12 *foundations* of *New Ierusalem*, *Rev.* 21.

Yea what Keepers then are the ordinary Officers of the *Church* appointed to be the *Shepherds* or *Keepers* of the *Flocke* of *Christ*, appointed to be the *Porters* or *Dore-keepers* and to watch in the absence of *Christ*, *Mark* 13. 34. *Acts* 20.

Yea what charge hath the whole *Church* it selfe, which is the pillar and ground of *Truth*, 2 *Tim.* 2. in the midst of which *Christ* is present with his Power, 1 *Cor.* 5. to keep out or cast out the impenitent and obstinate, even *Kings* and *Emperours* themselves from their *Spirituell society*, 1 *Cor.* 5. *Jam.* 3. 1. *Gal.* 3. 28.

The Kings
of the Af-

4. I aske whether in the time of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Iudah* (whom I confesse in the typicall and

Nationall state to be charged with both Tables) *I*fyrians&c. <sup>not charg-
ed with</sup> aske whether the *Kings* of the *Affyrians*, the *Kings* of the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Philistims*, were also con- <sup>Gods wor-
ship as the</sup> stituted and ordained Keepers of the *worship* of *God* as the *Kings* of *Iudab* were (for they were also law- <sup>Kings of
Judah in</sup> full *Magistrates* in their *Dominions*?) or whether the *Roman Emperours* were *custodes*, or keepers more then <sup>that Na-
tionall</sup> they? or more then the *King* of *Babylon Nebuchad- nezzar*, under whose Civill government *Gods* people <sup>and typi-
call</sup> lived, and in his owne Land and City, *Ier.* 29. church.

CHAP. LXXXIX.

Peace. **Y**OU remember (deare *Truth*) that *Constan-* <sup>Constan-
tine, Theo-
dofius. &c.</sup> *tine*, *Theodofius*, and others were made to beleeve that they were the *Antitypes* of the *Kings* of *Iudab*, the Church of *God*; and *Henry* the 8 was <sup>mifin-
formed.</sup> told that that Title *Defensor Fidei*, Defendour of the *Faith* (though sent him by the *Pope* for writing against *Luther*) was his owne *Diadem* due unto him from *Heaven*. So likewise since, the *Kings* and *Queens* of *England* have been instructed.

Truth. But it was not so from the beginning, as that very difference between that Nationall state of the Church of *God* then, and other *Kings* and *Magistrates* of the *World* (not so charged) doth clearly evince and leadeth us to the *Spirituall King* of the Church, *Christ Iesus* the *King* of *Israel*, and his *Spirituall Government* and *Governours* therein.

Fifthly, I aske whether had the *Roman Cæsars* <sup>Masters of
families
under the
Gospel</sup> more charge to see all their Subjects observe and submit to the *worship* of *God* in [132] their dominion

charged to force all under him from their owne consciences to his.

of the *World*, then a *master*, *father* or *husband* now under the *Gospel* in his *Familie*?

Families are the *foundations* of *government*, for what is a *Commonweale*, but a *Commonweale* of *Families* agreeing to live together for common good?

Now in *families*, suppose a beleieving *Christian Husband* hath an unbeleieving *Antichristian wife*, what other charge in this respect is given to an *husband*, 1 *Cor.* 7. but to dwell with her as an husband if she be pleased to dwell with him: but, to bee so farre from forcing her from her conscience unto his, as that if for his conscience sake she would depart, he was not to force her to tarry with him, 1 *Cor.* 7. Consequently the *Father* or *Husband* of the State differing from the *Commonweale* in *Religion*, ought not to force the *Commonweale*, nor to be forced by it: yet is he to continue a *civill husbands* care, if the *Commonweale* will live with him, and abide in *civill covenant*.

Now as a *husband* by his *love* to the *truth* and holy *conversation* in it, and seasonable *exhortations*, ought to indeavour to save his wife, yet abhorring to use *corporall compulsion* (yea, in this case to *childe* or *servant*) so ought the *Father*, *Husband*, *Governor* of the *Commonweale* endeavour to win and save whom possibly he may, yet farre from the appearance of *civill violence*.

If the charge of Gods worship was left with the Ro-

Sixthly, if the *Romane Emperours* were charged by *Christ* with his *Worship* in their dominion, and their *dominion* was over the *world* (as was the *dominion* of the *Grecian*, *Persian*, and *Babylonian Monarchy* before them) who sees not if the whole world bee forced

to turne *Christian* (as afterward and since it hath pre-
tended to doe) who sees not then that the world (for
whom Christ Jesus would not pray) and the *God* of
it, are reconciled to *Jesus Christ*, and the whole *field*
of the *world* become his inclosed garden?

Seventhly, if the *Romane Emperors* ought to have
been by *Christs* appointment *Keepers* of both *Tables*,
Antitypes of *Israel* and *Judabs Kings*, how many
millions of *Idolaters* and *Blasphemers* against *Christ*
Jesus and his worship ought they to have put to
death according to *Israels* patterne?

Lastly, I aske (if the *Lord Jesus* had delivered his
Sheepe and *Children* to these *Wolves*, his *Wife* and
Spouse to such *Adulterers*, his precious *Jewels* to such
great *Theeves* and *Robbers* of the *world* as the *Romane*
Emperours were, what is the *reason* that he was never
pleased [133] to send any of his *servants* to their *gates*
to crave their *helpe* & *assistance* in this his worke, to
put them in minde of their office, to chalenge and
claime such a service from them according to their
office, as it pleased God alwayes to send to the *Kings*
of *Israel* and *Judah* in the like case?

Peace. Some will here object *Pauls* appealing to
Cæsar.

Truth. And I must refer them to what I formerly
answered to that Objection. *Paul* never appealed to
Cæsar as a Judge appointed by Christ Jesus to give
definitive sentence in any spirituall or Church con-
troversie, but against that civill violence and murther
which the *Jewes* intended against him, *Paul* justly
appealed: For otherwise if in a *spirituall cause* he
should have appealed, he should have overthrowne

mane Em-
perour,
then was
he bound
to turne
the whole
world into
the Gar-
den, Flock
and Spouse
of Christ.
Millions
put to
death.

Christ
never sent
any of his
Ministers
or Serv-
ants to the
Civill Ma-
gistrate for
help in
spirituall
matters.

his owne *Apostleship* and *Power* given him by *Christ Iesus* in *spirituall* things, above the highest *Kings* or *Emperors* of the world beside.

CHAP. XC.

Peace. **B**lessed *Truth*, I shall now remember you of the fourth *Quærie* upon this place of *Timothy*, to wit, whether a Church of *Christ Iesus* may not live in *Gods worship* and comelineſſe, notwithstanding that the *civill Magistrate* profeſſe not the ſame but a contrary *Religion* and *Worship* in his owne perſon and the Country with him.

Chriſt
Jeſus hath
left power
in his
Church to
preserve
her ſelfe
pure,
though in
an idola-
trous
Coun-
trei.

Truth. I anſwer the Churches of *Chriſt* under the *Roman Emperours* did live in all *godlineſſe* and *chriſtian* gravity, as appeares by all their holy and glorious practices, which the Scripture abundantly teſtifies.

Secondly, this flowes from an *inſtitution* or *appointment* of ſuch a *power* and *authority*, left by the *Lord Ieſus* to his *Apoſtles* and *Churches*, that no ungodlineſſe or diſhoneſty in the firſt appearance of it was to be ſuffered, but ſuppreſſed and caſt out from the *Churches of Chriſt*, even the little Leaven of doctrine or practice, 1 *Corinth.* 5. *Gal.* 5.

Laſtly, I adde, that although ſometimes it pleaſeth the *Lord* to vouchſafe his *ſervants peace* and *quietneſſe*, and to command them here in *Timothy* to pray for it, for thoſe good ends and purpoſes for which *God* hath appointed *civill Magiſtracy* in the *world*, to keepe the *world* in *peace* and *quietneſſe*.[;]

Gods peo-
ple have

people have uſed moſt to [134] abound with *godlineſſe* and *honeſty*, when they have enjoyed leaſt *peace*

and *quietneſſe*. Then like thoſe *ſpices*, Cant. 4. *Myrrhe*, *Frankincenſe*, *Saffron*, *Calamus*, &c. they have yeelded the ſweeteſt favour to *God* and man, when they were pounded and burnt in cruell *perſecution* of the *Romane Cenſors*: then are they (as *Gods Veniſon*) moſt ſweet when moſt hunted: *Gods Stars* ſhining brighteſt in the darkeſt night: more heavenly in *converſation*, more *mortified*: more abounding in *love* each to other, more longing to be with *God*: when the *inhospitable* and *ſalvage World* have uſed them like *ſtrangers*, and forced them to haſten home to another Country which they profeſſe to ſeek.

CHAP. XCI.

Peace. **D**EARE *Truth*, it ſeemes not to be unſeaſonable to cloſe up this *paſſage* with a ſhort deſcant upon that *Aſſertion*, viz. “A *ſubject* without *godlineſſe* will not be *bonus vir*, a good man, nor a *Magiſtrate* except he ſee *godlineſſe* preſerved, will not be *bonus Magiſtratus*.”

Truth. I confeſſe that without *godlineſſe* or a true *worſhipping* of *God* with an upright heart according to *Gods Ordinances*, neither *Subjects* nor *Magiſtrates* can pleaſe *God* in *Chriſt Ieſus*, and ſo be ſpiritually or *chriſtianly good*, which few *Magiſtrates* and few men either come to, or are ordained unto: *God* having choſen a little *ſtock* out of the world, and thoſe generally poore and meane, 1 *Cor.* 1. *Iam.* 2. Yet this I muſt remember you of, that when the moſt *Hig*h *God* created *all things* of *nothing*, he ſaw and acknowledged divers ſorts of *goodneſſe*, which muſt ſtill be

uſed to
ſhine in
brighteſt
godlineſſe
when they
have en-
joyed leaſt
quietneſſe.

Few Mag-
iſtrates,
few men
ſpiritually
and chriſ-
tianly
good.

Yet divers
sorts of
goodnesse
naturall,
artificiall,
civill, &c.

acknowledged in their distinct kindes: a good *Ayre*, a good *Ground*, a good *Tree*, a good *Sheepe*, &c.
I say the same in *Artificialls*, a good *Garment*, a good *House*, a good *Sword*, a good *Ship*.

I also adde a good *City*, a good *Company* or *Corporation*, a good *Husband*, *Father*, *Master*.

Hence also we say, a good *Physitian*, a good *Lawyer*, a good *Sea-man*, a good *Merchant*, a good *Pilot*, for such or such a *shoare* or *Harbour*, that is, Morally, Civilly good in their severall *Civill respects* and imployments.

Hence (*Psal.* 133.[122]) the *Church* or *Citie of God* is compared to [135] a *Citie* compact within it selfe; which compactnes may be found in many *Townes* and *Cities* of the *World*, where yet hath not shined any spirituall or supernaturall *goodnesse*. Hence the *Lord Jesus* (*Matth.* 12.) describes an ill state of an *house* or *kingdome*, viz. to be divided against it selfe, which cannot stand.

The Civill
Goodnes
of Cities,
King-
domes,
Subjects,
Magis-
trates, must
be owned,
although
Spiritual
goodnes
(proper
to the
Christian
State or
Church)
be want-
ing.

These I observe to prove, that a *Subject*, a *Magistrate*, may be a good *Subject*, a good *Magistrate*, in respect of *civill* or *morall goodnes*, which thousands want, and where it is, it is commendable and beautiful, though *Godlines* which is infinitely more beautiful, be wanting, and which is onely proper to the *Christian state*, the *Commonweale* of *Israel*, the true *Church*, the holy *Nation*, *Ephes.* 2. 1 *Pet.* 2.

Lastly, however the *Authors* deny that there can be *Bonus Magistratus*, a good *Magistrate*, except he see all *Godlines* preserved; yet themselves confesse that *civill honesty* is sufficient to make a good *Subject*, in these words, viz. He must see that *Honestie* be pre-

served within his *jurisdiction*, else the *Subject* will not be *Bonus cives*, a good *citizen*: and doubtlesse (if the *Law of Relations* hold true) that *civill* honestie which makes a good *citizen*, must also (together with qualifications fit for a Commander) make also a good *Magistrate*.

CHAP. XCII.

Peace. **T**He 4. head is, The proper meanes of both these Powers to attaine their ends.

“First, the proper meanes whereby the Civill Power may and should attaine its end, are onely Politicall, and principally these Five.

“First the erecting and establishing what forme of Civill Government may seeme in wisedome most meet, according to generall rules of the Word, and state of the people.

“Secondly, the making, publishing, and establishing of wholesome Civill Lawes, not onely such as concerne Civill Justice, but also the free passage of true Religion: for, outward Civill Peace ariseth and is maintained from them both, from the latter as well as from the former:

“Civill peace cannot stand intire, where Religion is corrupted, 2 *Chron.* 15. 3. 5. 6. *Judg.* 8. And yet such Lawes, though conversant [136] about Religion, may still be counted Civill Lawes, as on the contrary, an Oath doth still remaine Religious, though conversant about Civill matters.

“Thirdly, Election and appointment of Civill officers, to see execution of those Lawes.

“Fourthly, Civill Punishments and Rewards, of Transgressors and Observers of these Lawes.

“Fifthly, taking up Armes against the Enemies of Civill Peace.

“Secondly, the meanes whereby the Church may and should attaine her ends, are only ecclesiasticall, which are chiefly five.

“First, setting up that forme of Church Government only, of which Christ hath given them a pattern in his Word.

“Secondly, acknowledging and admitting of no Lawgiver in the Church, but Christ, and the publishing of his Lawes.

“Thirdly, Electing and ordaining of such officers onely, as Christ hath appointed in his Word.

“Fourthly, to receive into their fellowship them that are approved, and inflicting Spirituall censures against them that offend.

“Fifthly, Prayer and patience in suffering any evil from them that be without, who disturbe their peace.

“So that Magistrates, as Magistrates, have no power of setting up the Forme of Church Government, electing Church officers, punishing with Church censures, but to see that the Church doth her duty herein. And on the other side, the Churches as Churches, have no power (though as members of the Commonweale they may have power) of erecting or altering formes of Civill Government, electing of Civill officers, inflicting Civill punishments (no not on persons excommunicate) as by deposing

“Magistrates from their Civill Authoritie, or with-
 “drawing the hearts of the people against them, to
 “their Lawes, no more then to discharge wives, or
 “children, or servants, from due obedience to their
 “husbands, parents, or masters: or by taking up
 “armes against their Magistrates, though he perse-
 “cute them for Conscience: for though members of
 “Churches who are publique officers also of the Civill
 “State, may suppress by force the violence of Usur-
 “pers, as *Ieboiada* did *Athaliah*, yet this they doe not
 “as members of the Church, but as officers of the
 “Civill State.

137] *Truth.* Here are divers considerable *passages*
 which I shall briefly examine, so far as concernes our
controversie.

First, whereas they say, that the *Civill Power* may
 erect and establish what *forme* of *civill Government*
 may seeme in *wisedome* most meet, I acknowledge the
proposition to be most true, both in it self, and also
 considered with the end of it, that a *civill Govern-*
ment is an *Ordinance* of *God*, to conserve the *civill*
peace of people, so farre as concernes their *Bodies* and
Goods, as formerly hath beene said.

But from this *Grant* I infer, (as before hath been
 touched) that the *Soveraigne*, *originall*, and *foundation*
 of *civill power* lies in the *people*, (whom they must
 needs meane by the *civill power* distinct from the
Government set up.) And if so, that a *People* may
 erect and establish what *forme* of *Government* seemes
 to them most meete for their *civill condition*: It is
 evident that such *Governments* as are by them erected
 and established, have no more *power*, nor for no longer

Civill
 power
 originally
 and funda-
 mentally
 in the peo-
 ple.

time, then the *civill power* or people consenting and agreeing shall betrust them with. This is cleere not only in *Reason*, but in the experience of all *common-weales*, where the people are not deprived of their *naturall freedome* by the power of *Tyrants*.

Mr. Cotton and the New-English Ministers give the Government of Christs Church or Spouse into the hands of the people or Common-weale.

And if so, that the Magistrates receive their power of governing the Church, from the People; undeniably it followes, that a *people*, as a *people*, naturally considered (of what *Nature* or *Nation* soever in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa* or *America*) have fundamentally and originally, as men, a power to governe the *Church*, to see her doe her *duty*, to correct her, to redresse, reforme, establisth, &c. And if this be not to pull *God* and *Christ*, and *Spirit* out of *Heaven*, and subject them unto *naturall*, finfull, inconstant men, and so consequently to *Sathan* himselfe, by whom all *peoples* naturally are guided, let *Heaven* and *Earth* judge.

The very Indian Americans made Governours of the Church by the Authors of these Positions.

Peace. It cannot by their owne *Grant* be denied, but that the *wildest Indians* in *America* ought (and in their kind and severall degrees doe) to agree upon some *formes* of *Government*, some more *civill*, compact in Townes, &c. some lesse. As also that their *civill* and *earthly Governments* be as lawfull and true as any *Governments* in the *World*, and therefore consequently their *Governors* are *Keepers* of the *Church* or both *Tables*, (if any Church of Christ should arise or be amongst them :) and therefore lastly, (if *Christ* have betrust and charged the *civill Power* with his *Church*) they must [138] judge according to their *Indian* or *American consciences*, for other *consciences* it cannot be supposed they should have.

CHAP. XCIII.

Truth. **A** Gaine, whereas they say that outward Civill peace cannot stand where *Religion* is corrupted; and quote for it, 2 *Chron.* 15. 3. 5. 6. & *Judges* 8.

I answer with *admiration* how such excellent *spirits* (as these *Authors* are furnished with, not only in heavenly but earthly affaires) should so forget, and be so fast asleep in things so palpably evident, as to say that outward *civill* peace cannot stand, where *Religion* is corrupt. When so many stately *Kingdomes* and *Governments* in the *World* have long and long enjoyed *civill* peace and quiet, notwithstanding their *Religion* is so corrupt, as that there is not the very Name of *Jesus Christ* amongst them: And this every *Historian*, *Merchant*, *Traveller*, in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, *America*, can testifie: for so spake the *Lord Jesus* himselfe, *Joh.* 16. The *world* shall sing and rejoyce.

Many Civill States in flourishing peace and quiet, where the Lord Jesus is not founded.

Secondly, for that Scripture 2 *Chron.* 15. 3. &c. relating the miseries of *Israel* and *Judah*, and *Gods* plagues upon that people for corruption of their *Religion*, it must still have reference to that peculiar state unto which *God* called the seed of one man, *Abraham*, in a *figure*, dealing so with them as he dealt not with any Nation in the *World*, *Psal.* 146. *Rom.* 9.

The *Antitype* to this State I have proved to be the *Christian Church*, which consequently hath been and is afflicted with spirituall *plagues*, *desolations* and *capitivities*, for corrupting of that *Religion* which hath been revealed unto them. This appeares by the 7

Churches, and the people of *God*, now so many hundred yeares in wofull *bondage* and *slaverie* to the mysticall *Babel*, untill the time of their joyfull *deliverance*.

Peace. Yea but they say that such *Lawes* as are conversant about *Religion*, may still be accounted *Civill Lawes*, as on the contrary an Oath doth still remaine *Religious*, though conversant about *Civill* matters.

Lawes
concern-
ing Relig-
ion, either
Religious,

Truth. *Lawes* respecting *Religion* are two-fold :

First, such as concerne the *acts* of *Worship* and the *Worship* it self, the *Ministers* of it, their *fitnes* or *unfitnes*, to be suppressed or [139] established : and for such *Lawes* we find no footing in the New *Testament* of *Jesus Christ*.

or *Civill*.

The very
Indians
abhor to
disturbe
any Con-
science
at Wor-
ship.

Secondly, *Lawes* respecting *Religion* may be such as meerly concerne the *Civill State*, *Bodies* and *Goods* of such and such persons, professing these and these *Religions*, viz. that such and such persons, notorious for *Mutinies*, *Treasons*, *Rebellions*, *Massacres*, be disarmed : Againe, that no persons *Papists*, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, or *Indians* be disturbed at their *worship*, (a thing which the very *Indians* abhor to practice toward any.) Also that *imanitie* and *freedome* from *Tax* and *Toll* may be granted unto the people of such or such a *Religion*, as the *Magistrate* pleaseth, *Ezra* 7.

These and such as are of this nature, concerning only the *bodies* and *goods* of such and such *Religious persons*, I confesse are meerely *Civill*.

But now on the other hand, that *Lawes* restraining persons from such and such a *Worship*, because the *Civill state* judgeth it to be false :

That *Laws* constraining to such & such a *worship*,

because the *Civill State* judgeth this to be the only true way of worshipping *God*:

That such and such a *Reformation of Worship* be submitted unto by all Subjects in such a *Iurisdiction*: Canons and Constitutions

That such and such *Churches, Ministers, Ministries* be pull'd downe, and such and such *Churches, Ministries, and Ministrations* set up: pretended Civill, but indeed Ecclesiasticall.

That such *Lawes* properly concerning *Religion, God, the Soules* of men, should be *Civill Lawes and Constitutions*; is as far from *Reason*, as that the *Commandements* of *Paul*, which he gave the *Churches* concerning *Christs worship* (1 Cor. 11 & 1 Cor. 14.) were *Civill and Earthly constitutions*: Or that the *Canons and Constitutions* of either *æcumenicall* or *Nationall Synods* concerning *Religion*, should be *Civill and State-conclusions* and agreements.

To that instance of an *Oath* remaining *religious* though conversant about *civill things*; I answer and acknowledge, an *Oath* may be spirituall, though taken about earthly *businesse*, and accordingly it will prove, and onely prove what before I have said, that a *Law* may be civill though it concerne persons of this and of that *religion*, that is as the *persons* professing it are concerned in *civill respects* of *bodies* or *goods*, as I have opened; whereas if it concerne the *soules* and *religions* of men simply so considered in reference to *God*, it [140] must of necessity put on the nature of a *religious* or *spirituall ordinance* or *constitution*. Laws meerely concerning spirituall things must needs be spirituall.

Beside, it is a most improper and fallacious instance[;] for an *oath*, being an *invocation* of a true or false *God* to judge in a case, is an action of a *spirituall* and *religious nature*, what ever the *subject* matter be about

which it is taken, whether *civill* or *religious*: but a *law* or *constitution* may be *civill* or *religious*, as the *subject* about which it is *conversant* is, either *civill* (meerly concerning *bodies* or *goods*) or *religious* concerning *soule* and *worship*.

CHAP. XCIV.

Peace. **T**Heir fifth Head is concerning the Magistrates power in making of Lawes.

“First, they have power to publish and apply such
 “Civill Lawes in a State as either are exprest in the
 “Word of God in *Moses* Judicials (to wit, so far as
 “they are of generall and morall equity, and so binding
 “all Nations in all Ages) to bee deducted by way
 “of generall consequence and proportion from the
 “word of God.

“For in a free State no Magistrate hath power
 “over the bodies, goods, lands, liberties of a free people,
 “but by their free consents. And because free
 “men are not free Lords of their owne estates, but
 “are onely stewards under God, therefore they may
 “not give their free consents to any Magistrate to
 “dispose of their bodies, goods, lands, liberties at
 “large as themselves please, but as God (the soveraigne
 “Lord of all) alone. And because the Word
 “is a perfect rule as wel of righteousnes as of holines,
 “it will be therefore necessary that neither the people
 “give consent, nor that the Magistrate take power to
 “dispose of the bodies, goods, lands, liberties of the
 “people, but according to the Lawes and Rules of
 “the Word of God.

“Secondly, in making Lawes about civill and indifferent things about the Commonweale.

“First, he hath no power given him of God to make what laws he please, either in restraining from, or constraining to the use of indifferent things, because that which is indifferent in its nature, may may sometimes bee inexpedient in its use, and consequently unlawfull, 1 Cor. 2. 5. it having been long since defended upon good ground, *Quicquid non expedit, quatenus non expedit, non licet.*

141] “Secondly, he hath no power to make any such Lawes about indifferent things, wherein nothing good or evill is shewne to the people, but onely or principally the meere authority or wil of the imposer for the observance of them, Colof. 2. 21, 22. 1 Cor. 7. 23, compared with Ephes. 6. 6.

“It is a prerogative proper to God to require obedience of the sonnes of men, because of his authority and will.

“The will of no man is *Regula recti*, unlesse first it bee *Regula recta*.

“It is an evill speech of some, that in some things the will of the Law, not the *ratio* of it, must be the Rule of Conscience to walke by; and that Princes may forbid men to seeke any other reason but their authority, yea when they command *frivola & dura*. And therefore it is the duty of the Magistrate in all lawes about indifferent things, to shew the Reasons, not onely the Will, to shew the expediency, as well as the indifferency of things of that nature.

“For we conceive in Lawes of this nature, it is not the will of the Lawgiver onely, but the Reason

“of the Law which bindes. *Ratio est Rex Legis, & Lex est Rex Regis.*

“Thirdly, because the judgement of expedient and inexpedient things is often difficult and diverse, it is meet that such Lawes should not proceed without due consideration of the Rules of Expediency set downe in the Word, which are these three:

“First, the rule of Piety, that they may make for the glory of God, *1 Cor. 10. 31.*

“Secondly, the rule of Charity, that no scandall come hereby to any weake brother, *1 Cor. 8. 13.*

“Thirdly, the Rule of Charity, that no man be forced to submit against his *conscience*, *Rom. 14. 14. 23.* nor be judged of contempt of lawfull *Authority*, because he is not suddenly perswaded of the *expediency* of indifferent things; for if the people be bound by *God* to receive such Lawes about such things, without any triall or satisfaction to the *conscience*, but must judge them *expedient*, because the *Magistrate* thinkes them so, then the one cannot be punished in following the other, in case he shall sinne in calling *Inexpedient Expedient*; but *Christ* saith the contrary, If the *blinde* lead the *blinde*, they shall both fall.

142] *Truth.* In this passage these worthy Men lay downe such a *ground*, as the *gates* of *Hell* are not able to shake concerning the *Magistrates* walking in indifferent things: And upon which *ground* that *Towre* of *Lebanon* may be raised whereon there hang a thousand *shields* and *bucklars*, *Cant. 4.* to wit, that invincible *Truth*, That no man is to be *persecuted* for cause of *conscience*: The ground is this: The *Mag-*

The Authors large confession of the liberty of conscience from the Laws of

istrate hath not *power* to make what *Lawes* he please, either in *restraining* or *constraining* to the use of indifferent things: And further he confesseth that the *reason* of the *Law*, not the *will* of it must be the rule of conscience. And they adde this impregnable reason: viz. "If the people be bound to receive such *Lawes* without satisfaction to conscience, then one cannot be punished for following the other, in case he shall sinne contrary to Christ Jesus, who saith, "If the blinde lead the blinde, they shall both fall.

Civill authority in spirituall cases.

Hence I argue, If the *Civill Magistrate* have no power to *restraine* or *constraine* their *subjects* in things in their owne nature indifferent, as in eating of *meats*, wearing this or that *garment*, using this or that *gesture*, but that they are bound to try and examine his *commands*, and satisfie their owne *reason*, *conscience* and *judgement* before the *Lord*, and that they shall sinne, if they follow the *Magistrates* command, not being perswaded in their owne soule and conscience that his commands are according to *God*![:] It will be much more unlawfull and heynous in the *Magistrate* to compell the subjects unto that which (according to their *consciences* perswasion) is simply unlawfull as unto a falsely constituted *Church*, *Ministry*, *Worship*, *Administration*, and they shall not escape the Ditch, by being led blindfold by the Magistrate, but though hee fall in first, yet they shall [fall] in after him, and upon him, to his greater and more dreadfull judgement.

Civill Magistrates confessed not to have power to urge the conscience in indifferent things.

In particular thus, If the Magistrate may restraine me from that gesture in the Supper of the Lord, which I am perswaded I ought to practice, he may also restraine me by his commands from that Supper

of the Lord it selfe in such or such a Church according to my conscience.

If he cannot (as they grant) constraine me to such or such a garment in the worship of God, can he constraine me to worship God by such a Ministry, and with such worship, which my soule and conscience cannot be perswaded is of God?

143] If he cannot command me in that circumstance of time to worship God this or that day, can he command mee to the worship it selfe?

A three-
fold guilt
lying upon
Civill
powers
command-
ing the
subjects
soule in
worship.

Peace. Me thinkes I discerne a threefold guilt to lye upon such Civill powers as impose upon and inforce the conscience, though not unto the ministration and participation of the Seales,¹ yet either to depart from that worship which it is perswaded of, or to any exercise or worship which it hath not faith in.

First, of an appearance of that Arminian Popish doctrine of Freewill, as if it lay in their owne power and ability to beleieve upon the Magistrates command since it is confessed that what is submitted to by any without faith it is sinne, be it never so true and holy, *Rom.* 14.

Secondly, since God only openeth the heart and worketh the will, *Phil.* 2. it seemes to be an high presumption to suppose that together with a command restraining from, or constraining to worship, that God is also to be forced or commanded to give faith to open the heart to incline the will, &c.

Thirdly, A guilt of the hypocrisie of their subjects and people in forcing them to act and practice in matters of Religion and Worship against the doubts and checks of their consciences, causing their bodies

¹ Sacraments.

to worship, when their soules are far off, to draw near with their lips, their hearts being far off, &c.

With lesse sinne ten thousand fold may a naturall Father force his daughter, or the Father of the Commonweale force all the maydens in a Country to the marriage beds of such and such men whom they cannot love, then the soules of these and other subjects to such worship or Ministry, which is either a true or false, because *Cant.* 1. 16.

Persons may with lesse sin be forced to marry whom they cannot love, then to worship where they cannot beleeve.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, your conclusions are undeniable, and O that they might sinke deep into those Noble and Honourable Bosomes it so deeply concerns! but proceed.

CHAP. XCV.

Peace. IN that fifth head they further say thus:

“Thirdly, in matters Ecclesiasticall we
 “beleeve, first, That Civill Magistrates have no power
 “to make or constitute Lawes about Church affaires
 “which the Lord Jesus hath not [144] ordained in
 “his Word for the well ordering of the Church; for
 “the Apostle solemnely chargeth *Timothy*, and in
 “him all Goverours of the Church, before God and
 “and the Lord Jesus Christ (who is the only Potentate,
 “the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords) that
 “the Commandement given by him for the ordering
 “of the Church be kept without spot unrebukeable
 “to the appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ, 1 *Tim.*
 “6. 14. 15. And this Commandement given in the
 “Word; the Apostle saith is able to make the man
 “of God perfect in all Righteousnesse, 2 *Tim.* 3. 17.

“ And indeed the adminiftration of all Chrifts affaires
 “ doth immediately aime at fpiritually and divine ends
 “ (as the worfhip of God and the falvation of mens
 “ foules :) and therefore no Law nor meanes can be
 “ deuifed by the wifdome or wit of man that can be
 “ fit or able to reach fuch ends, but ufe muft be made
 “ of fuch onely as the divine Wifdome and holy Will
 “ of God hath ordained.

“ Secondly, We beleeve the Magiftrates power in
 “ making Lawes about Church affaires, is not only
 “ thus limited and reftained by Chrift to matters
 “ which concerne the fubftance of Gods worfhip and
 “ of Church government, but alfo fuch as concerne
 “ outward order, as in Rites and Ceremonies for uni-
 “ formities fake: For we finde not in the Gofpell
 “ that Chrift hath any where provided for the uni-
 “ formity of Churches, but onely for their unity.

“ *Paul* in matters of Chriftian libertie commendeth
 “ the unity of their Faith in the holy Spirit, giving
 “ order that wee fhould not judge nor condemne one
 “ another in difference of judgement and praftice of
 “ fuch things where men live to God on both fides,
 “ even though there were fome error on one fide,
 “ *Rom.* 14. to the 6. How much leffe in things indif-
 “ ferent, where there may be no error on either fide.

“ When the Apostle directeth the Church of
 “ Corinth that all things be done decently and in
 “ order, he meant not to give power to Church Offi-
 “ cers, or to Civill Magiftrates to order what ever
 “ they fhould thinke meet for decencie and order;
 “ but only to provide that all the Ordinances of God
 “ be adminiftered in the Church decently without

“unnaturall or uncivill uncomelineſſe (as that of long
“haire, or womens prophesying, or the like) and
“orderly without confuſion or diſturbance of edifi-
“cation, as the ſpeaking of many at once in the
“Church.

145] “Thirdly, we doe nevertheleſſe willingly grant
“that Magiſtrates upon due and diligent ſearch what
“is the counſell and will of God in his Word con-
“cerning the right ordering of the Church, may and
“ought to publiſh and declare, eſtabliſh and ratifie
“ſuch Lawes and Ordinances as Chriſt hath appointed
“in his Word for the well ordering of Church
“affaires, both for the gathering of the Church, and
“the right admiftration of all the Ordinances of God
“amongſt them in ſuch a manner as the Lord hath
“appointed to edification. The Law of *Artaxerxes*,
“*Ezra* 7. 23. was not uſurpation over the Churches
“liberty, but a Royall and juſt confirmation of them:
“Whatſoever is commanded by the God of Heaven:
“For why ſhould there be wrath againſt the King
“and his Sonnes?

Truth. Deare *Peace*, me thinkes I ſee before mine
eyes a *wall* daubed up (of which *Ezekiel* ſpeakes)
with untampered *morter*: Here they reſtraine the
Magiſtrate from making *Lawes* either concerning
the ſubſtance or *ceremony* of *Religion*, but ſuch only
as *Chriſt* hath commanded, and thoſe, ſay they, they
muſt publiſh and declare after the example of *Arta-*
xerxes.

I ſhall herein performe two things: Firſt, examine
this *Magiſtrates* duty to publiſh, declare, &c. ſuch
Laws and Ordinances as *Chriſt* hath appointed.

Secondly, I shall examine that prooffe from *Artaxerxes*, *Ezra* 7. 23.

Gods
Israel de-
sirous of
Sauls arme
of flesh.

In the first, me thinks I heare the voice of the people of *Israel*, 1 *Sam.* 8. 5. Make us a *King* that may rule over us after the manner of the *Nations*, rejecting the *Lord* ruling over them by his holy Word in the mouth of his *Prophets*, and sheltering themselves under an Arme of *Flesh*; which Arme of *Flesh* God gave them in His *Anger*, and cut off againe in His *Wrath*, after he had persecuted *David* the figure of *Christ Jesus* who hath given his people the *Scepter* and *Sword* of his *Word* and *Spirit*, and refused a temporall *Crowne* or *Weapons* in the dispensation of his *Kingdome*.

Where did the Lord *Jesus* or his Messengers charge the Civill Magistrate, or direct Christians to petition him, to publish, declare or establish by his Arme of *Flesh* and Earthly weapons the Religion and worship of *Christ Jesus*?

I finde the Beast and false Prophet (whose rise and doctrine is not from Heaven, but from the Sea and Earth) dreadfull and terrible [146] by a Civill Sword and dignitie, *Rev.* 13. 2.

The 7
headed
Beast, and
the Lambe
differ in
their wea-
pons.

I find the Beast hath gotten the power and might of the Kings of the Earth, *Revel.* 17. 13.

But the Lambes weapons are Spiritually mighty, 2 *Cor.* 10. &c. his Sword is two-edged comming out of his mouth, *Revel.* 1. His preparations for War are white Horses and white Harnesse, which are confest by all to be of a spirituall nature, *Revel.* 19.

Naboths
case typi-
call.

When that whore *Jesabel* stabbed *Naboth* with her Pen, in stirring up the people to stone him as a *Blas-*

phemer of *God* and the *King*, what a glorious maske or vaile of *Holines* put she on? Proclaime a *Fast*, set a day apart for *humiliation*; and for *confirmation*, let all be ratified with the *Kings* Authoritie, Name, and Seale, 1 *Kings*, 21. 8.

Was not this recorded for all *Gods Naboths*, standing for their Spirituall interests in heavenly things (typed out by the typicall earth and ground of *Canaan*s land) that they through patience and Comfort of the Scriptures might have hope, *Rom.* 15. 4.?

Againe, I demand who shall here sit Judge, whether the Magistrate command any other Substance or Ceremonie but what is Christs?

By their former Conclusions, every Soule must judge what the Magistrate commandeth, and is not bound, even in indifferent things, to the Magistrates Law, further then his own Soule, Conscience and judgement ascends to the Reason of it: Here the Magistrate must make Lawes for that Substance and Ceremony which Christ appointed: But yet he must not doe this with his eyes open, but blindfold and hood-winkt; for if he judge that to be the *Religion* of *Christ*, and such to be the order there in which their *Consciences* judge otherwise, and assent not to, they professe they must submit only to *Christs lawes*, and therefore they are not bound to obey him.

Oh what is this but to make use of the *Civill Powers* and *Governours* of the *World*, as a *Guard* ^{Civill Powers} about the Spirituall *Bed* of Soule-whoredomes, in ^{abused as} which the *Kings* of the *Earth* commit Spirituall ^{a Guard} *fornication* with the great *Whore*, *Rev.* 17. 2.?
^{about the Bed of} Guard while the Inhabitants of the *Earth* are drink-^{Spirituall}

whore-
domes.

ing themselves drunke with the wine of her fornication.

But oh what terrifyings, what allurings are in *Jeremies* Curse and Blessing! *Jer.* 17. Curled is the man that trusteth in man, that maketh [147] Flesh his Arme (too too common in spirituall matters) and whose heart departeth from Jehovah: He shall be as an Heath in the Wildernes (even in the spirituall and mysticall wildernes) and shall not see when comfort comes) but shall abide in drouth in the wilderness in a barren land, &c.

CHAP. XCVI.

Peace. **O** What mysteries are these to Flesh and Blood! how hard for flesh to forsake the Arme thereof! But passe on (deare *Truth*) to their prooffe propounded, *Ezra* 7. 23. wherein *Artaxerxes* confirmed by Law what ever was commanded by the *God* of Heaven.

Ezra 7. 23.
discussed.

Truth. In this Scripture I mind first the people of *God* captivated under the *dominion* and government of the *Kings* of *Babel* and *Persia*.

Secondly, *Artaxerxes* his favour to these Captives,

1. Of *freedome* to their *Conscienc*es.
2. Of *bountie* towards them.
3. Of exempting of some of them from common charges.

Thirdly, *Punishments* on offenders.

Fourthly, the *ground* that caries him on to all this.

Fifthly, *Ezra* praising of *God* for putting this into the heart of the *King*.

Concerning the people of *God* the *Jewes*, they were as *Lambes* and *Sheep* in the jawes of the *Lyon*, the dearely beloved of his Soule under the devouring *Tyrants* of the World, both the *Babylonian* and the *Persian*, farre from their owne *Nation*, and the Government of their own anointed *Kings*, the figures of the true *King* of the *Jewes* the Lord *Jesus Christ*.

Gods people not subject to the Kings of Babel of Persia in Spirituall.

In this respect it is cleere, that the *Iewes* were no more subject to the *Kings* of *Babylon* and *Persia* in Spirituall things, then the *Vessels* of the *Sanctuary* were subject to the *King* of *Babels* use, *Dan.* 5.

Concerning this *King* I consider, first his person, a *Gentile Idolater*, an oppressing *Tyrant*, one of those devouring *Beasts*, *Dan.* 7. & 8. An hand of bloody *Conquest* set the Crown upon the head of these *Monarchs*; and although in *Civill* things they might challenge subjection, yet why should they now sit down in the throne [148] of *Israel*, and governe the people and *Church* of *God* in Spirituall things?

Secondly, consider his acts of Favour, and they will not amount to a positive Command, that any of the *Iewes* should goe up to build the *Temple*, nor that any of them should practice his own *worship*, which he kept and judged the best for his owne Soule and People.

Tyrants hearts sometimes wonderfully mollified towards

'Tis true, he freely permits them, and exerciseth a bounteous *assistance* to them: All which argues no more, but that sometimes it pleaseth *God* to open the hearts of *Tyrants* greatly to favour and further his people. Such favour found *Nebemiah*, and *Daniel*, and others of *Gods* people have and shall finde, so often as it pleaseth Him to honour them that honour Him, before the *Sonnes* of Men.

Gods people.

Peace. Who sees not how little this Scripture contributes to their *Tenent*? but why (say some) should this *King* confirme all with such severe punishments? and why for all this should *Ezra* give thanks to *God*, if it were not imitable for aftertimes?

Truth. The Law of *God* which he confirmed, he knew not, and therefore neither was, nor could he be a Judge in the Case.

And for his Ground, what was it but the common *terrors* and *convictions* of an affrighted Conscience?

Nabuchad-
nezzar,
Darius,
and Artaxerxes
their de-
crees ex-
amined.

In such fits and *pangs*, what have not *Pharaohs*, *Sauls*, *Abahs*, *Herods*, *Agrippa's* spoken? and what wonderfull decrees have *Nabuchadnezzar*, *Cyrus*, *Darius*, *Artaxerxes* put forth concerning the *God* of *Israel*, Dan. 3. & 6. & *Ezra* 1. & 7. &c. and yet as farre from being charged with (as they were from being affected to) the Spirituall Crown of Governing the Worship of *God*, and the Conscience of his people.

Ezra's
thanksgiv-
ing for the
Kings de-
cree ex-
amined.

Tis true, *Ezra* most piously and justly gave thanks to *God* for putting such a thing into the heart of the King: But what makes this pattern for the Laws of Civill Governours now under the Gospell? It suited well with that Nationall state of Gods Church, that the Gentile King should release them, permit them to returne to their own Land, assist them with other favours, and enable them to execute punishments upon offenders according to their Nationall State.

149] But did *God* put such a thing as this into the heart of the King, viz. to restraine upon paine of Death all the millions of men under his Dominion from the Idolatries of their severall and respective

Countries? to constraîne them all upon the like penaltie to conforme to the Worship of the God of Israel, to build him a Temple, erect an Altar, ordaine Priests, offer sacrifice, observe the Fasts and Feasts of Israel? yea did God put it into the Kings heart to send Levites into all the parts of his Dominion, compelling them to heare; which is but a naturall thing (as some unsoundly speake) unto which all are bound to submit?

Well however, *Ezra* gives thanks to God for the King; and so should all that feare God in all Countries, if he would please to put it into the hearts of the Kings, States and Parliaments, to take off the yokes of Violence, and permit (at least) the Consciences of their Subjects, and especially such as in truth make Conscience of their Worship to the God of Israel: and yet no cause for *Ezra* then, or Gods *Ezra's* and Israelites now, to acknowledge the care and charge of Gods worship, Church and Ordinances, to lie upon the shoulders of *Artaxerxes*, or any other Civill Prince or Ruler.

Lastly for the Confirmation or Ratification which they suppose Magistrates are bound to give to the Lawes of Christ, I answer, Gods cause, Christs Truth, and the two-edged sword of his Word, never stood in need of a temporall Sword, or an humane Witness to confirme and ratifie them. If we receive the witness of an honest man, the witness of the most holy God is greater, 1 *Iohn* 5.

The result and summe of the whole matter is this: 1. It may please *God* sometimes to stir up the *Rulers* of the Earth to permit and tolerate, to favour and coun-

The duty
of all Civill
States to-
ward the
Conscien-
ces of their
Subjects.

Christ
needs no
humane
confirma-
tions.

The sum
of the Ex-
amples of
Gentile

Kings decreeing
for Gods worship
in Scripture.

tenance *Gods* people in their *worships*, though only out of some strong conviction of *conscience* or *fear* of *wrath*, &c. and yet themselves neither understand *Gods* worship, nor leave their owne state, Idolatry or Country worship.

For this *Gods* people ought to give thanks unto *God*; yea and all men from this example may learne not to charge upon the *Magistrates* conscience (besides the care of the *Civill peace*, the bodies and goods of men) the Spirituall peace in the worship of *God* and *soules* of men: but hence are *Magistrates* instructed favourably to permit their subjects in their *worships*, although themselves bee [150] not perswaded to submit to them, as *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Cyrus*, *Darius* and *Artaxerxes* did.

CHAP. XCVII.

Peace. **T**He sixt question is this: How far the *Church* is subject to their Lawes?

“All those (say they) who are members of the
“Commonweale are bound to be subject to all the
“just and righteous Lawes thereof, and therefore
“(membership in Churches not cutting men off from
“membership in commonweales) they are bound to
“be subject, even every soule, *Rom.* 13. 1. as Christ
“himselfe and the Apostles were in their places
“wherein they lived, and therefore to exempt the
“Clergy (as the Papists do) from Civill subjection,
“and to say that *generatio Clerici*, is *corruptio subditi*,
“is both sinfull and scandalous to the Gospel of God;
“and though all are equally subject, yet Church

“members are more especially bound to yeeld subjection, and the most eminent most especially bound, not only because conscience doth more strongly binde, but also because their ill examples are more infectious to others, pernicious to the State, and provoke Gods wrath to bring vengeance on the State.

“Hence if the whole Church or officers of the Church shall sin against the State or any person by sedition, contempt of Authority, heresie, blasphemy, oppression, slander, or shall withdraw any of their members from the service of the State without the consent thereof, their persons and estates are liable to Civill punishments of Magistrates according to their righteous and wholsome Lawes, *Exod.* 22. 20. *Levit.* 24. 16. *Deut.* 13. 5. & 18. 10.

Truth. What concernes this head in civill things, I gladly subscribe unto: what concernes heresie, blasphemy, &c. I have plentifully before spoken to, and shall here only say 2 things:

First, those Scriptures produced concerne only the people of God in a Church estate, and must have reference onely to the Church of Christ Jesus, which (as Mr. Cotton confesseth)¹ is not Nationall but Con-

¹ “The Church which Christ in his Gospell hath instituted, and to which he hath committed the keyes of his kingdom, the power of binding and loosing, the tables and seals of the Covenant, the Officers and censures of his Church, the administration of all his public Worship and Ordinances, is, *Cætus fidelium*, a Communion of Saints, a Combination of faithfull godly men, meeting for that end, by common and joynt consent, into one Congregation; which is commonly

called a *particular visible Church*. * * *

The Church of *Corinth*, even the whole Church, did meet together every Lords day, in one place, for the Administration of the holy Ordinances of God, to publick Edification, *1 Cor.* 14. 23. & 16. 1, 2. Which frequent meeting every Lords day in one place, to such ends, cannot possibly be compatible to any Diocesan, Provinciaall, or Nationall Assembly.” *The Way of the Churches*, Chap. I. Prop. 1.

gregationall of so many as may meet in one place, 1 *Cor.* 14. & therefore no Civill State can be the antitype and parallell; to which purpose upon the 11 Question I shall at large [151] shew the difference betweene that Nationall Church and State of Israel, and all other States and Nations in the World.

The Law
of putting
to death
blasphemers
of
Christ
cuts off all
hopes from
the Jews
of partaking
in his
blood.

Secondly, If the Rulers of the Earth are bound to put to death all that worship other gods then the true God, or that blaspheme (that is speake evill of in a lesse or higher degree) that one true God; it must unavoidably follow that (the beloved for the Fathers sake) the Jewes whose very Religion blasphemeth Christ in the highest degree, I say they are actually sonnes of death, and all to be immediately executed according to those quoted Scriptures: And

The dire-
full effects
of fighting
for con-
science.

Secondly, the Townes, Cities, Nations and Kingdomes of the World must generally be put to the sword, if they speedily renounce not their Gods and Worshipps, and so cease to blaspheme the true God by their Idolatries: This bloody consequence cannot be avoided by any Scripture rule, for if that rule be of force *Deut.* 13. & 18. not to spare, or shew mercy upon person or City falling to Idolatry, that bars out all favour or partiality; and then what heapes upon heapes in the slaughter houses and thambles of Civill Warres must the world come to, as I have formerly noted, and that unnecessarily, it being not required by the Lord Jesus for his sake, and the Magistrates power and weapons being essentially Civill, and so not reaching to the impiety or ungodlinesse, but the incivility and unrighteousnesse of tongue or hand?

CHAP. XCVIII.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, these are the poysoned daggers stabbing at my tender heart! Oh when shall the Prince of peace appeare and reconcile the bloody sons of men? but let me now propose their 7 head: viz.

“In what order may the Magistrate execute punishment on a Church or Church-member that offendeth his Lawes.

“First, grosse and publicke notorious finnes which are against the light of conscience as Heresie, &c. there the Magistrate keeping him under safe ward should send the offendour first to the Church to heale his conscience, still provided that the Church be both able and willing thereunto: By which meanes the Magistrate shall convince such an ones conscience that he seeketh his healing, rather then his hurt.

152] “The censure also against him shall proceed with more power and blessing, and none shall have cause to say that the Magistrate persecutes men for their consciences, but that he justly punisheth such an one for sinning rather against his conscience, *Tit.* 3. 10.

“Secondly, in private offences how the Magistrate may proceed, see Chap. 12. It is not materiall whether the Church or Magistrate take it first in hand. Only with this caution, that if the State take it first in hand, they are not to proceed to death or banishment, untill the Church hath taken their course with him, to bring him to Repentance, pro-

“vided that the Church be willing and ready there-
“unto.

Secondly, in such finnes wherein men plead Conscience, as Heresie, &c.

Truth. Here I have many just exceptions and considerations to present.

First, they propose a distinction of some finnes: some are against the light of conscience, &c. and they instance in Heresie.

Errour is
confident
as well as
Truth.

Ans. I have before discusst this point of an Heretick sinning against light of conscience: And I shall adde that howsoever they lay this down as an infallible conclusion that all Heresie is against light of Conscience; yet (to passe by the discussion of the nature of Heresie, in which respect it may so be that even themselves may be found hereticall, yea and that in fundamentalls) how doe all Idolaters after light presented, and exhortations powerfully pressed, either Turkes or Pagans, Jewes or Antichristians, strongly even to the death hold fast (or rather are held fast by) their delusions.

God people
as well
as others
will be
found ob-
stinate in
fundamen-
tall errors
in which
sufferings
and perfec-
tion
doth har-
den.

Yea Gods people themselves, being deluded and captivated are strongly confident even against some fundamentalls, especially of worship, and yet not against the light, but according to the light or eye of a deceived conscience.

Now all these consciences walke on confidently and constantly even to the suffering of death and torments, and are more strongly confirmed in their beleefe and conscience, because such bloody and cruell courses of persecution are used toward them.

Secondly, speakes not the Scripture expressly of the

Jew, *Iſa.* 6. *Mat.* 13. *Acts* 28. that God hath given them the ſpirit of ſlumber, eyes that they ſhould not ſee, &c. all which muſt be ſpoken of the very conſcience, which he that hath the golden key of *David* can [153] only ſhut and open, and all the Picklocks or Swords in all the *Smiths* ſhops in the *World* can neither by *force* or *fraud* prevent his time.

Is it not ſaid of *Antichriſtians*, 2 Theſſal. 2. that *God* hath ſent them ſtrong *deuſions*, ſo ſtrong and efficacious, that they beleeeve a Lie and that ſo Conſidently, and ſome ſo Conſcientiouſly, that Death it ſelfe cannot part betweene the *Deuſion* and their Conſcience. Strong deuſions.

“Againe, the *Magiſtrate* (ſay they) keeping him “in ſafe ward: that is, the Heretick, the Blaſphemer, “Idolater, &c.

Peace. I here aſke all men that love even the Civill Peace, where the Lord Jeſus hath ſpoken a tittle of a Priſon or ſafe ward to this purpoſe.

Truth. We find indeed a priſon threatned by God to his irreconciled enemies, neglecting to account with him, *Matth.* 5.

We finde a priſon into which perfecuters caſt the Saints: So *John*, ſo *Paul*, and the Apoſtles, *Matth.* Spirituell priſons. 14. 10. &c. were caſt, and the great Commander of, and caſter into priſon, is the Devill, *Revel.* 2.

Wee finde a Spirituall priſon indeed, a priſon for Spirits, 1 *Pet.* 3. 19. the Spirits formerly rebellious againſt Chriſt Jeſus ſpeaking by *Noah* unto them, now kept in ſafe ward againſt the judgement of the great day.

In Excommunication, a Soule obſtinate in finne is

delivered to Sathan his Jaylour, and he keeps him in safe ward, untill it pleaseth God to release him.

Christ
Jesus ap-
pointed no
materiall
prisons for
Blaspheme-
rs of
him, &c.

There is a prison for the Devill himselfe a thousand yeares, *Rev.* 20. And a Lake of eternall fire and brimstone, into which the Beast and False Prophet, and all not written in the Lambes booke, and the Devill that deceived them, shall eternally be there secured and tormented.

But neither amongst these, nor in any other passage of the New Testament, doe we finde a prison appointed by Christ Iesus for the Heretick, Blaphemer, Idolater, &c. being not otherwise guilty against the Civill State.

The Bish-
ops pris-
ons.

'Tis true, Antichrist (by the helpe of Civill Powers) hath his prisons, to keep Christ Iesus and his members fast: such prisons may well be called the Bishops prisons, the Popes, the Devils prisons: These inquisition houses have ever been more terrible then the Magistrates.

154] At first, persecuting Bishops borrowed prisons of the Civill Magistrate (as now their successors doe still in the world) but afterward they wrung the keyes out of the Magistrates hands, and hung them at their own Girdles, and would have prisons of their owne, as doubtlesse will that Generation still doe, if God prevent them not.

CHAP. XCIX.

Peace. **A** Gaine (say they) the *Magistrate* should send *him* first to the *Church* to heale his *Conscience*.

Truth. Is not this as the Prophet speakes, Like ^{Like} mother, like daughter? So the ^{mother} mother of whoredomes like daugh-
 the Church of Rome teacheth and practiseth with all ^{ter.} her *Hereticks*: First let the holy Church convince them, and then deliver them to the Secular power to receive the punishment of *Hereticks*.

Peace. Me thinks also they approach neere that Popish Tenent, *Ex opere operato*: for their Exhortations and Admonitions must necessarily be so operative and prevalent, that if the *Heretick* repent not, he now sins against his *Conscience*: not remembering that ^{Con-} *Peradventure*, 2 Tim. 2. If *peradventure*, God will ^{science not} give them *repentance*: and how strong *delusions* are, ^{so easily} and *believing* of *lies*, and how hard it is to be unde- ^{healed and}ceived, especially in *Spirituals*? ^{cured.}

Truth. And as it may so prove, when an *Heretick* indeed is brought to this Colledge of *Physitians* to have his conscience healed, and one *Heretick* is to cure another: So also when any of *Christs Witnesses* (supposed *Hereticks*) are brought before them, how doth the Lord *Iesus* suffer whippings and stabs, when his *Name*, and *Truths*, and *Witnesses*, and *Ordinances* are all prophaned and blasphemed?

Besides, suppose a Man to be an *Heretick*, and yet suppose him brought as the *Magistrates* Prisoner, though to a true Church, to heale his *Conscience*: ^{Wound-} What promise of *Presence* and *Blessing* hath the Lord ^{ing instead} *Iesus* made to his Church and Spouse in such a way? ^{of healing} and how common is it for *Hereticks* either to be ^{of Con-} desperately hardned by such cruell courses (yet pre- ^{sciences.} tending Soule-healing) or else through *feare* and *terror* to practice grosse hypocrisie even against their

consciences? So that these *Chirurgions* and *Physitians* pretending to heale *Consciences*, by such a course wound them deeper, and declare [155] themselves *Chirurgions* and *Physitians* of no value.

Peace. But what thinke you of the Proviso added to their Proposition, viz. Provided, the Church bee able and willing?

Christs
Spouse
able and
willing to
heale
wounded
consci-
ces.

Truth. Doubtles this proviso derogates not a little from the nature of the Spouse of Christ. For she, like that gracious woman, *Prov.* 31. 26. openeth her mouth with wisdome, and in her tongue is the Law of Grace: she is the pillar and ground of Truth, 2 *Tim.* 2. The golden candlestick from whence true light shineth: the Angels or Ministers thereof able to try false Apostles (*Rev.* 2.) and convince the Gain-sayers, *Tit.* 1.

Againe (according to their principles of suppressing persons and Churches falsely worshipping) how can they permit such a blind and dead Church not able and willing to heale a wounded Conscience?

Peace. What should be the reason of this their exprefion?

Truth. Doubtles their *Consciences* tell them how few of those *Churches* (which they yet acknowledge *Churches*) are able and willing to hold forth *Christ Iesus* the *Sun of Righteousnes*, healing with his wings the doubting and afflicted *conscience*.

Lastly, their *conscience* tells them, that a Servant of *Christ Iesus* may possibly be sent as an *Heretick* to be healed by a *false Church*, which *Church* will never be willing to deale with him, or never be able to convince him.

Peace. “Yea, but they say, by such a course the
“*Magistrate* shall convince such an ones *conscience*;
“that hee seekes his good, &c.

Truth. If a man thus bound be sent to a *Church*
to be healed in his *conscience*, either he is an *Heretick*,
or he is not.

Admit he be: yet he disputes in *fear*, as the poor
theefe:¹ the *Mouse* disputes with a terrible persecuting
Cat: who while she seemes to play and gently tosse,
yet the conclusion is a proud insulting and devouring
crueltie.

If no *Heretick* but an innocent and faithfull witnes
of any Truth of *Jesus*; disputes he not as a *Lambe* in the
Lions paw, being sure in the end to be torne in pieces?

Peace. They adde: The *censure* this way proceeds
with more *power* and blessing.

Truth. All power and blessing is from that blessed
Son of God, [156] unto whom all power is given
from the *Father*, in Heaven and Earth. He hath
promised his *presence* with his *Messengers*, preaching
and baptizing to the worlds end, ratifying in Heaven
what they binde or loose on Earth.

But let any man shew me such a *commission*, *instruc-
tion* and *promise* given by the *Son of God* to *Civill*
powers in these spirituall affaires of his *Christian King-
dome* and *Worship*?

Peace. Lastly they conclude, “This course of first
“sending the *Heretick* to be healed by the *Church*,
“takes away all excuse; for none can say that he is
“persecuted for his *Conscience*, but for sinning against
“his *Conscience*.

¹ Insert comma for colon.

Persecu-
tours en-
dure not
so to be
called.

Truth. *Iefabel* placing poore *Naboth* before the *Elders* as a blasphemmer of *God* and the *King*, and sanctifying the plotted and intended murther with a day of *humiliation*, may seeme to take away all excuse, and to conclude the *Blasphemer* worthy to be stoned: But *Jehovah* the *God* of *Recompences* (*Ier.* 51.) when he makes *Inquisition* for *blood*, will find both *Iefabel* and *Ahab* guilty, and make the *Dogs* a feast with the flesh of *Iefabel*, and leave not to *Ahab* a man to pisse against the wall; for (as *Paul* in his owne plea) there was nothing committed worthy of *death*: and against thee, O *King*, saith *Daniel*, I have not sinned (*Dan.* 6.) in any Civill fact against the State.

CHAP. C.

Peace. **T**Heir eighth question is this: viz. What power Magistrates have about the gathering of Churches?

“First, the Magistrate hath power, and it is his
“duty to incourage and countenance such persons, as
“voluntarily joyn themselves in holy Covenant, both
“by his presence (if it may be) and promise of pro-
“tection, they accepting the right hand of fellow-
“ship from other neighbour Churches.

“Secondly, he hath power to forbid all Idolatrous
“and corrupt Assemblies, who offer to put them-
“selves under their patronage, and shall attempt to
“joyne themselves into a Church-estate, and if they
“shall not hearken, to force them therefrom by the
“power of the Sword, *Psal.* 101. 8.¹ For our toler-

¹ “Idolatry, Blasphemy, Heresy, vent- that destroy the foundation, open con-
ing corrupt & pernicious opinions, tempt of the word preached, prophana-

“ating many Religions in a State in severall Churches,
 “beside the provoking of God, may in time not only
 “corrupt, leaven, divide, and so destroy the peace
 157] “of the Churches, but also dissolve the contin-
 “uity of the State, especially ours whose wals are
 “made of the stones of the Churches; it being also
 “contrary to the end of our planting in this part of
 “the World, which was not only to enjoy the pure
 “Ordinances, but to enjoy them all in purity.¹

“Thirdly, He hath power to compell all men
 “within his grant, to heare the Word,² for hearing
 “the Word of God is a duty which the light of
 “Nature leadeth even Heathens to: The Ninivites
 “heard *Jonah*, though a stranger, and unknowne
 “unto them, to be an extraordinary Prophet, *Jonah*
 “3. And *Eglon* the King of *Moab* hearing that *Ebud*
 “had a message from God, he rose out of his seat for
 “more reverent attention, *Judg.* 3. 20.

“Yet he hath no power to compell all men to
 “become members of Churches, because he hath not
 “power to make them fit members for the Church,
 “which is not wrought by the power of the Sword,
 “but by the power of the Word: Nor may he force
 “the Churches to accept of any for members, but
 “those whom the Churches themselves can freely
 “approve of.³

tion of the Lords day, disturbing the
 peaceable administration & exercise of
 the worship & holy things of God, &
 the like, are to be restrayned, & pun-
 ished by civil authority.” *A Platforme*
of Church Discipline gathered out of the
Word of God: and agreed upon by the
Elders: and Messengers of the Churches

assembled in the Synod at Cambridge, &c.
 Chap. xvii. 8. p. 29. Printed at Cam-
 bridge, by S G in *New England*, 1649.

¹ See note, p. 215 *supra*.

² See note, p. 194 *supra*.

³ “It is not in the power of Magis-
 trates to compell their subjects to become
 church-members, & to partake at the

Truth. To the first branch of this *head*, I answer, That the *Magistrate* should encourage and countenance the *Church*, yea and protect the persons of the *Church* from violence, disturbance, &c. it being truly noble and glorious, by how much the *Spouse* and *Queene* of the *Lord Jesus* transcends the *Ladies*, *Queens*, and *Empresses* of the *World*, in *glory*, *beauty*, *chastity* and *innocency*.

'Tis true, all *Magistrates* in the *world* do this : viz. Incourage and protect that *Church* or *Assembly* of *worshippers*, which they judge to be true and approve of; but not permitting other consciences then their owne :¹ It hath come to passe in all ages, and yet doubtlesse will, that the *Lord Jesus* and His *Queene* are driven and persecuted out of the *World*.

To the second, That the *Magistrate* ought to suppress all *Churches* which he judgeth false, he quoteth *Psal.* 101. 8. " Betimes I will cut off the wicked
" of the Land, that I may cut off all evill doers from
" the City of *Jehovah* : unto which, he addeth foure Reasons.

Peace. Deare *Truth*, first, a word to that Scripture, so often quoted, and so much boasted of.

Truth. Concerning that holy Land of *Canaan*,
Psal. 101. concerning the City of *Jehovah*, *Jerusalem*, out of
 8. concern which King *David* here resolves [158] to cut off all
 ing the cut the wicked and evill doers.² I shall speake more
 ting off the the wicked, largely on the 11 *Head* or *Question* in the *differences*
 examined. between that and all other Lands.

Lords table. * * * Those whom the church is to cast out if they were in, the *Magistrate* ought not thrust into the church, nor to hold them therein."

Cambridge Platform, xvii: 4. p. 28.

¹ Comma for colon.

² *Dele* period.

At present I answer, There is no holy Land or *City* of the *Lord*, or *King* of *Sion*, &c. but the *Church* of *Iesus Christ*, and the *King* thereof, according to 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. Ye are a holy *Nation*, and *Ierusalem* is the holy people of God in the true profession of *Christianity*, *Heb.* 12. *Gal.* 4. & *Rev.* 21. Out of which the *Lord Iesus* by his holy Ordinances, in such a government, and by such governours as he hath appointed, he cuts off every wicked person and evill doer.

No Land
of Canaan,
nor holy
City now.

If *Christ Iesus* had intended any difference of *place*, *Cities* or *Countries*, doubtlesse *Ierusalem* and *Samaria* had been thought of, or the *Cities* of *Asia*, wherein the *Christian Religion* was so gloriously planted.

But the *Lord Iesus* disclaimes *Ierusalem* and *Samaria* from having any respect of holinesse more then other *Cities*, *John* 4.

And the Spirit of God evidently testifieth that the *Churches* were in the *Cities* and *Countries*, not that the whole *Cities* or *Countries* were Gods holy Land, and *Cities* out of which all false worshippers and wicked persons were to be cut, *Rev.* 2. & 3.

No differ-
ence of
Lands and
Cities
since the
comming
as was be-
fore the
comming
of the
Lord
Iesus.

The *Divells* throne was in the *City* of *Pergamus*, in respect of the state and persecution of it, and yet there was also the *Throne* of the *Lord Iesus* set up in His *Church* of worshippers in *Pergamus*, out of which the *Balaamites*, and *Nicholaitans* and every false worshipper was to be cast, though not out of the *City* of *Pergamus*, for then *Pergamus* must have beene throwne out of *Pergamus*, and the *World* out of the *World*.

CHAP. CI.

Peace. **O**H that my head were a *fountaine*, and mine eyes *Rivers* of *teares* to lament my *children*, the *children* of *peace* and *light*, thus darkniug that, and other lightsome Scriptures with such darke and direfull clouds of *bloud*.

The
bloody in-
terpreta-
tion of
Psal. 101.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, thy *teares* are seasonable and precious, and botled up in the *Heavens*: but let me adde a second consideration from that Scripture: If that Scripture may now literally be applied to Nations and Cities in a parallel to *Canaan* and *Ierusalem* since 159] the *Gospel*, and this Psal. 101. be literally to be applied to *Cities*, *Townes*, and *Countries* in *Europe* and *America*, not only such as assay to joyn themselves (as they here speake) in a corrupt *Church* estate, but such as know no *Church* estate, nor *God*, nor *Christ*, yea every wicked person and evill doer, must be hanged or stoned, &c. as it was in *Israel*, and if so, how many *thousands* and *millions* of men and women in the severall *Kingdomes* and *governments* of the *World* must be cut off from their *Lands*, and destroyed from their *Cities*, as this Scripture speakes?

Thirdly, since those persons in the *New English* plantations accounted unfit for *Church* estate, yet remaine all members of the *Church* of *England*, from which *New England* dares not separate, no not in their *Sacraments* (as some of the *Independents* have published¹) what *riddle* or *mysterie*, or rather *fallacie* of *Sathan* is this?

¹ The views of the Independents were given in "An Apologetical Narration, humbly submitted to the Honourable

Houses of Parliament, &c.," published in 1643, concerning which Williams published his "Queries of Highest Con-

Peace. It will not be offence to *charity* to make conjecture: First, herein *New England Churches* secretly call their *Mother Whore*, not daring in *America* to joyne with their owne *Mothers* children, though unexcommunicate, no nor permit them to worship *God* after their consciences, and as their Mother hath taught them this secretly and silently, they have a minde to doe, which publickly they would seem to *disclaime*, and professe against.

Secondly, If such members of *Old England* should be suffered to enjoy their *consciences* in *New*, (how- ever it is pretended they would profane *Ordinances* for which they are unfit (as true it is in that *naturall persons* are not fit for *Spirituall worship*) yet this appears not to be the bottome, for in *Old England* the *New English* joyne with *Old* in the *ministations* of the *Word, Prayer, singing, contribution, maintenance* of the *Ministrie, &c.*) if I say, they should set up Churches after their *conscience*, the *greatnesse* and *multitudes* of their owne Assemblies would decay, and with all the contributions and *maintenance* of their *Ministers*, unto which all or most have beene forced.

Truth. Deare *Peace*, These are more then conjectures, thousands now espie, and all that love the *federation*," in 1644, and at about the same time with the "Bloody Tenent." They say, "As to the Church of England, we professe before God and the world, that we do apprehend a great deal of defilement in their way of worship, and a great deal of unwarranted power exercised by their church governors, yet we allow multitudes of their parochial churches to be true churches, and their ministers true ministers. In the late times, when we had no hopes of returning to our own country, we held communion with them, and offered to receive to the Lords Supper some that came to visit us in our exile, whom we knew to be godly, upon that relation and membership they held in their parish churches in England, they professing themselves to be members thereof, and belonging thereto." p. 78. Neal's *Puritans*, 1: 491.

mainten-
ances de-
creafe.

purity of the worship of the living God should lament such halting: I shall adde this, not only doe they partially neglect to cut off the wicked of the Land, but such as themselves esteemed beloved and godly have they driven forth, and keep out others which would come unto them, eminently godly by their owne confession, because differing in conscience 160] and worship from them, and consequently not to be suffered in their holy Land of *Canaan*.¹

But having examined that Scripture alledged, let us now weigh their Reasons.

First (say they) the not cutting off by the sword, but tolerating many *Religions* in a State would provoke God: unto which

Christ
Iesus never
appointed
all Relig-
ions but
his owne
to be cut
off by the
Civill
Sword.
A bloody
mother.

I answer, first (and here being no Scripture produced to these *Reasons*, shall the sooner answer) that no prooffe can be made from the *Institutions* of the *Lord Iesus* that all Religions but one are to be cut off by the *Civill Sword*; that Nationall Church in that typicall Land of *Canaan* being abolished, and the *Christian Commonweale* or Church instituted.

Secondly, I affirme that the cutting off by the Sword other *Consciences* and *Religions* is (contrarily)

¹ The reference to his own banishment and to their refusal to allow the Presbyterians to come to New England and set up another form of Church-government (p. 215) is obvious. In the previous sentences where allusion is made to members of the Church of England being "suffered to enjoy their own consciences in New England" and "to set up churches after their conscience," Williams may possibly have had in mind the case of John and Samuel Browne, who

had been sent home to England from Salem in 1629 for setting up separate worship according to the Book of Common Prayer. *Morton's Memorial*, p. 148. Williams arriving in Salem but little over a year afterward must have heard of it, and his mind, with the opinions about religious liberty then growing in it, must have been prepared to be impressed by such a transaction, in which men of standing received treatment so similar to his own.

most provoking unto God, expressely against his will concerning the Tares *Matth.* 13. as I have before proved; as also the bloody *mother* of all those monstrous mischiefs (where such cutting off is used) both to the *soules* and *bodies* of men.

Thirdly, let *conscience* and *experience* speake how in the not cutting off their many *Religions*, it hath pleased God not only not to be provoked, but to prosper the state of the united Provinces our next neighbours, and that to admiration.²

Peace. The second reason is, such tolerating would leaven, divide and destroy the peace of the Churches.

Truth. This must also be denied upon so many former *Scriptures* & *Reasons* produced, proving the power of the *Lord Iesus*, and the sufficiencie of his *Spirituell* power in his *Church*, for the purging forth and conquering of the least *evill*, yea and for the bringing every thought in subjection unto *Christ Iesu*,
2 Cor. 10.

I adde, they have not produced one Scripture, nor can, to prove that the permitting of *leaven* of false doctrine in the *World* or *Civill State*, will leaven the Churches: only we finde that the permission of *leaven* in *persons*, *doctrines* or *practices* in the *Church*, that indeed will corrupt and spread, 1 Cor. 5. & Gal. 5. but this *Reason* should never have been alledged, were not the particular Churches in *New England*, but as so many implicate *Parish Churches* in one implicate Nationall Church.

¹ See Chapter 27.

² "In that age (17th century) the immense prosperity of Holland was everywhere regarded with admiration. In all

that related to trade, her statesmen were considered as oracles, and her institutions as models." Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, iv. p. 111.

Peace. Their third *Reason* is, it will dissolve the continuity of the State, especially theirs, where the walls are made of the stones of the *Churches*.

161] *Truth.* I answer briefly to this bare *affirmation* thus, that the true *Church* is a wall spirituall and mysticall, *Cant.* 8. 9.

Then consequently a false Church or Company is a false or pretended wall, and none of *Christs*.

The *civill State*, *Power* and *Government* is a *civill wall*, &c. and

Lastly, the walls of *Earth* or stone about a City are the naturall or artificiall wall or defence of it.

The Wall,
Cant. 8. 9.
discussed. Now in consideration of these foure wals I desire it may be proved from the Scriptures of *Truth*, how the false *spirituall wall* or company of false *worshippers* suffred in a City can be able to destroy the true *Christian wall* or company of *beleevers*.

A spirituall wall cannot properly impaire the civil. Again, how this false *spirituall wall* or false *Church* permitted, can destroy the *civill wall*, the *State* and *Government* of the City and *Citizens*, any more then it can destroy the *naturall* or *artificiall wall* of earth or stone.

Spirituall may destroy *spirituall*, if a stronger and victorious, but *spirituall* cannot reach to *artificiall* or *civill*.

Peace. Yea but they feare the false *spirituall wall* may destroy their *civill*, because it is made of the stones of *Churches*.

Truth. If this have reference to that practice amongst them, *viz.* that none but members of *Churches* enjoy *civill* freedome amongst them (ordinarily) in imitation of that *Nationall Church* and *State* of the *Jewes*, then I answer, they that follow

Moses Church constitution) which the *New English* by such a practice implicitly doe) must cease to pretend to the Lord *Iesus Christ* and his *institutions*.

Secondly, we shall finde lawfull *civill States* both before and since *Christ Iesus*, in which we finde not any tidings of the true *God* our [or] *Christ*.

Lastly, their *civill New English State* framed out of their *Churches* may yet stand, subsist and flourish, although they did (as by the word of the *Lord* they ought) permit either *Jewes* or *Turkes* or *Antichristians* to live amongst them subject unto *their Civill Government*.

Many
flourishing
Civill
States
where true
Churches
are not
found.

CHAP. CII.

Peace. **O**Ne branch more, viz. the third remaines of this Head, and it concerns the hearing of the Word, “unto which (say they) all men are “to be compelled, because hearing of the [162] word “is a duty which even Nature leadeth Heathens to : “for this they quote the practice of the Ninevites “hearing *Ionah*, and *Eglon* (King of Moab) his rising “up to *Ebuds* pretended message from God, *Judg. 3*.

Truth. I must deny that position: for light of Nature leadeth men to heare that onely which Nature conceiveth to be good for it, and therefore not to heare a Messenger, Minister or Preacher, whom *conscience* perswades is a false *messenger* or *deceiver*, and comes to deceive my soule, as Millions of men and women in their severall respective *religions* and *consciences* are so perswaded, conceiving their owne to be true.

Hearing
discussed.

Every
Religion
prefers its
owne
Priests and
Ministers
before all
other.

Jonahs preaching to the Ninevites, and their hearing of his message examined. Secondly, as concerning the *instances*, *Jonah* did not compell the Ninevites to heare that *message* which he brought unto them.

Besides the matter of *compulsion* to a constant *working* of the word in *Church estate* (which is the *Question*) comes not neare *Jonahs* case.

Nor did *Christ Iesus* or any of his *Embassadours* so practice: but if persons refused to heare the command of the *Lord Iesus* to his Messengers was onely to depart from them, shaking off the dust of their feet with a denunciation of *Gods wrath* against them, *Math. 10. Act. 14.*

Eglon his rising up to Ehuds message, examined. Concerning *Eglon* his rising up: First, *Ebud* compelled not that King either to heare or reverence, and all that can bee imitable in *Eglon*, is a voluntary and willing *reverence* which persons ought to expresse to what they are perswaded comes from *God*.

But how doe both these instances mightily convince and condemne themselves, who not onely professe to turne away from, but also persecute or hunt all such as shall dare to professe a *Ministry* or *Church estate* differing from their owne, though for personall *godlineſſe* and excellency of gifts revered by themselves.

Thirdly, to the point of *compulsion*: It hath pleased the *Lord Iesus* to appoint a twofold *Ministry* of his Word.

A twofold Ministry of Christ, converting and feeding. First, for *unbeleevors* and their *conversion*, according to *Math. 28. 19. Marc. 16. 15, 16.* and the constant practice of the Apostles in the first preaching of the *Gospel*.

Secondly, a *Ministry* of *feeding* and *nourishing* up

such as are *converted* and brought into *Church estate*, according to *Ephes.* 4. &c. Now to neither of these doe we finde any compulsion appointed by the *Lord Iesus*, or practised by any of his.

163] The compulsion preached and practised in *New England*, is not to the hearing of that *Ministry* sent forth to convert unbeleevvers, and to constitute *Churches*: for such a *Ministry* they practise not but to the hearing of the word of *edification, exhortation, consolation*, dispenced onely in the *Churches of worshippers*: I apply,

When *Paul* came first to *Corinth* to preach *Christ Iesus*, by their Rule the Magistrates of *Corinth* ought by the Sword to have compelled all the people of *Corinth* to heare *Paul*.

Secondly, after a Church of *Christ* was gathered (by their rule) the *Magistrates* of *Corinth* ought to have compelled the people still (even those who had refused his Doctrine, for the few onely of the Church embraced it) to have heard the Word still, and to have kept one day in seven to the *Christians God*, and to have come to the *Christians Church* all their dayes. And what is this but a settled formality of *Religion* and *Worship*, unto which a people are brought by the power of the sword?

And however they affirme that persons are not to be compelled to be *members* of *Churches*, nor the Church compelled to receive any: Yet if persons be compelled to forsake their Religion which their hearts cleave to, and to come to *Church*, to the *worship* of the *Word, Prayers, Psalmes, and Contributions*, and this all their dayes: I aske whether this be not this peoples Religion, unto which submitting,

Paul never
used any
civill com-
pulsion.

The New
English
forcing
their sub-
jects to
church all
their daies
and yet
forcing
them not
to any Re-

ligion (as they say) they force the people then to be of no religion all their dayes

they shall be quiet all their dayes, without the inforcing them to the practice of any other Religion? And if this bee not so, then I aske, Will it not inevitably follow, that they (not onely permit, but) enforce people to bee of no Religion at all, all their dayes?

This toleration of Religion, or rather irreligious *compulsion*, is above all *tolerations* monstrous, to wit, to compell men to bee of no *Religion* all their dayes. I desire all men and these worthy *Authors* of this Modell, to lay their hands upon their heart, and to consider whether this *compulsion* of men to heare the *Word*, (as they say) whether it carries men, to wit, to be of no *Religion* all their dayes, worse then the very *Indians*, who dare not live without *Religion* according as they are perswaded.

Lastly, I adde, from the *Ordinance* of the Lord *Jesus*, and practice of the Apostles (Acts 2. 42.) where the Word and Prayer is joynd with the exercise of their *fellowship*, and breaking of Bread; in which Exercises the *Church* continued constantly:

The Civill State can no more lawfully compell the Consciences of men to Church to heare the Word, then to receive the Sacraments.

that it is apparent [164] that a *Civill State* may as lawfully compell men by the *civill sword* to the breaking of *bread*, or Lords Supper, as to the *Word* or *Prayer*, or *Fellowship*.

For first, they are all of the same *nature*, *Ordinances* in the *Church* (I speake of the *feeding Ministrie* in the *Church*, unto which persons are compell'd) and *Church Worship*. Secondly, every *conscience* in the *World* is fearfull, at least shie of the *Priests* and *Ministers* of other *Gods* and *Worships*, and of holding Spirituall fellowship in any of their Services. Which is the case of many a Soule, viz. to question the *Ministers* themselves, as well as the Supper it selfe.

CHAP. CIII.

Peace. **D**EARE *Truth*, This pressing of men to the Spirituall Battels of Christ Jesus, is the cause why (as it is commonly with prest Souldiers) that so many thousands flie in the day of Battell. But I present you with the 9. Question, *viz.*

What power the Magistrate hath in providing of Church-Officers?

“First (say they) the Election of Church officers
“being the proper Act of the Church, therefore the
“Magistrate hath no power (either as Prince or
“Patron) to assume such power unto himselfe. When
“Christ sends to preach by his supreme power, the
“Magistrate may send forth by his power subordinate,
“to gather Churches, and may force people to heare
“them, but not invest them with office amongst them.

“Secondly, the Maintenance of Church-officers
“being to arise from all those who are ordinarily
“taught thereby (*Gal. 6. 6.*) hence it is the dutie of
“the Civill Magistrate to contend with the people,
“as *Nehemiah* did,¹ *chap. 13. ver. 10. 11.* who doe
“neglect and forsake the due maintenance of the

¹ “Not only Members of Churches, but *all that are taught in the Word*, are to contribute unto him that teacheth in all good things. In case that Congregations are defective in their contributions, the Deacons are to call upon them to do their duty: if their call sufficeth not, the church by her power is to require it of their Members, & where church-

powr through the corruption of men, doth not, or cannot attaine the end, the Magistrate is to see ministry be duely provided for, as appears from the commended example of *Nehemiah*. The Magistrates are nursing fathers & nursing mothers, & stand charged with the custody of both Tables &c.” *Cambridge Platform*, xi: 4. p. 16.

“ Church of God, and to command them to give such
 “ portions for the maintenance of Church officers, as
 “ the Gospell commandeth to be offered to them
 “ freely and bountifully, 2 *Cor.* 9. 5, 6, 7. According
 “ as *Hezekiah* commanded the people to give to the
 “ Priests and Levites the portions appointed by the
 “ Law, that they might be encouraged in the Law of
 “ the Lord, 2 *Chron.* 31. 4.

“ Thirdly, the furnishing the Church with set offi-
 “ cers, depending much upon erecting and main-
 “ tenance of Schooles, and [165] good education of
 “ youth: and it lying chiefly in the hand of the
 “ Magistrate to provide for the furthering thereof,
 “ they may therefore and should so farre provide for
 “ the Churches, as to erect Schooles, take care for
 “ fit Governours and Tutours, and commend it to all
 “ the Churches, if they see it meet, that in all the
 “ Churches within the Jurisdiction once in a yeare,
 “ and if it may be, the Sabbath before the Generall
 “ Court of Election, there be a Free-will offering of
 “ all people for the maintenance of such Schooles:
 “ And the monies of every Towne so given, to be
 “ brought on the day of Election to the Treasurie of
 “ the Colledge, and the monies to be disposed by such
 “ who are so chosen for the disposing thereof.

Truth. In the choice of officers, it is very obscure
 what they mean by this supreme power of Christ
 Jesus sending to preach.

We know the Commission of the Lord Jesus to
 his first Messengers to goe into all Nations to preach
 and gather Churches, and they were immediately
 sent forth by him: but Mr. *Cotton* elswhere holdeth,

that there is now extant no immediate *Ministry* from *Christ*, but *mediate*, that is, from the *Church*.¹

Let us first see how they agree with themselves, and secondly how they agree with the *Magistrate* in this busines.

First, if they hold a sending forth to preach by Christs supreme power, according to *Matth. 28. Mark 16. Rom. 10.* they must necessarily grant a time, when the *Church* is not, but is to be constituted out of the *Nations* and *Peoples* now converted by this *preaching*: whence according to the *course* of *Scripture*, the nature of the *Worke*, and their own *Grant* in this place, it is apparent that there is a *Ministry* before the *Church*, gathering and espousing the Church to *Christ*: and therefore their other *Tenent* must needs be too light, viz. that there is no *Ministry* but that which is *mediate* from the *Church*.

In the first patterne there is a converting Ministrie, to gather the Church or Flock of Christ.

Peace. Blessed *Truth*, this doctrine of a *Ministry* before the *Church*, is *harsh* and *deep*, yet most *true*, most *sweet*: Yet you know their *Ground*, that two or three Godly *persons* may joyne themselves together, become a *Church*, make officers, send them forth to preach, to convert, baptize, and gather New *Churches*.

Truth. I answer, first we find not in the first *institution* and *patterne*, that ever any such two, or three,

¹ We have failed to discover any precise expression of this sentiment in any of Cotton's works published before this. In his *Answer*, p. 82, *Pub. Narr. Club*, ii: 135, he says, "The Power of the Ministeriall Calling is derived chiefly from Christ, furnishing his servants with Gifts fit for the Calling; and nextly, from the Church, (or Congregation)

who observing such whom the Lord hath gifted, doe elect and call them forth to come and helpe them." In *The Way of the Churches*, p. 39, he says, "The Church hath not *absolute* power to choose whom they list, but *ministeriall* power onely, to choose whom Christ hath chosen, hath gifted and fitted for them."

No prefi-
dent of
any people
in the Gof-
pell con-
verting &
gathering
themselves
without
some Mes-
fenger ſent
from the
Lord to ef-
fect thoſe
ends.

or more, did gather and conſtitute themſelves a *Church of Chriſt*, without a *Miniftrie* ſent [166] from *God* to invite and call them by the *Word*, and to receive them unto *fellowſhip* with *God* upon the receiving of that *Word* and *Message*: And therefore it may very well be quæried how without ſuch a *Miniftry* two or three become a *Church*? and how the power of *Chriſt* is conveyed unto them; Who eſpouſed this people unto *Jeſus Chriſt*, as the *Church* at *Corinth* was eſpouſed by *Paul*, 2 *Cor.* 11.? If it be ſaid themſelves, or if it be ſaid the *Scriptures*, let one inſtance be produced in the firſt *patternes* and *practiſes* of ſuch a *Practice*.

It hath been generally confeſt, that there is no coming to the *Mariage feaſt* without a *Messenger* inviting, ſent from *God* to the *Soules* of men, *Matth.* 22. *Luc.* 14. *Rom.* 10.

We finde when the *Theſſalonians* turned to *God* from their *Idolls* to ſerve the living and true *God*, 1 *Theſſal.* 1. 9. it pleaſed *God* to bring a *Word* of *Power* unto them by the mouth of *Paul* in the ſame place.

Peace. You know (deare *Truth*) it is a common plea, that *Gods* people now are converted already, and therefore may congregate themſelves, &c.

Truth. Two things muſt here be cleared:

Profefſed
publique
conversion
is not one-
ly from
finnes
againſt
the ſecond
Table in

Firſt, doth their *conversion* amount to externall turning from *Idolls*, 1 *Theſſ.* 1. 9. beſide their internall *Repentance*, *Faith*, *Love*, &c. Secondly, who wrought this *conversion*, who begot theſe *Children*? (for though the *Corinthians* might have ten thouſand *Teachers*, yet *Paul* had begotten them by the *Word*.

'Tis true (as *Mr. Cotton* himſelfe elſewhere acknow-

ledgeth) *God* fendeth many *Preachers* in the way of his *providence* (even in *Babel* mysticall) though not according to his *Ordinance* and *Institution*: So even in the *wildernesse* (*Rev.* 12.) *God* provideth for the sustentation of the woman, *Rev.* 12. by which *provision* even in the most *Popish* times and places, yea and by most false and *Popish* callings (now in this lightsome Age confest so to be) *God* hath done great things to the personall *conversion*, *consolation*, and *salvation* of his people.

But as there seems yet to be desired such *constitution* of the *Christian Church*, as the first *institution* and *patterne* calls for: So also such a *calling* and *converting* of *Gods* people from *Antichristian Idols* to the *Christian Worship*: And therefore such a *Ministry* (according to the first *patterne*) sent from *Christ* *Iesus* to renew and restore [167] the *Worship* and *Ordinances* of *God* in *Christ*.

A true Ministry necessary before conversion, and therefore before the Church in the first patterne.

Lastly, if it should be granted that without a *Ministry* sent from *Christ* to gather *Churches*, that *Gods* people in this Country may be called, converted from *Antichristian Idolls*, to the true *worship* of *God* in the true *Church* estate and *Ordinances*, will it not follow that in all other Countries of the World *Gods* Elect must or may be so converted from their severall respective false *worships* and *Idolatries*, and brought into the true *Christian Church* estate without such a *Ministry* sent unto them? Or are there two *ways* appointed by the *Lord* *Iesus*, one for this Country, and another for the rest of the *World*? Or lastly, if two or three more (without a *Ministry*) shall arise up, become a *Church*, make *Ministers*, &c. I ask

The true way of the Ministry sent with that commission Matth. 28. discussed.

whether those two or three, or more[,] must not be accounted immediately and extraordinarily stirred up by *God*, and whether this be that supreme power of *Christ Iesus* (which they speake of) sending forth two or three private persons to make a *Church* and *Ministers*, without a true *Ministry* of *Christ Iesus* first sent unto themselves? Is this that *commission* (which all Ministers pretend unto) *Mat. 28. 19. &c.* first, in the hands of two or three private persons becomming a *Church*, without a mediat call from which *Church* (say they) there can be no true *Ministry*, and yet also confesse that *Christ* sendeth forth to preach by his *supreme power*; and the *Magistrate* by his power subordinate to gather Churches?

CHAP. CIV.

Peace. **Y**OU have taken great paines to shew the irreconcilablenesse of those their two assertions, *viz.* First, there is now no *Ministry* (as they say) but what is mediat from the Church, and yet secondly, *Christ Iesus* sends Preachers forth by his supreme power to gather the Church: I now wait to heare, how, as they “say, the *Magistrate* may send “forth by his power subordinate to gather Churches, “enforcing the people to heare, &c.

The Civill
Magistrate
not be-
trusted
with gath-
ering of
Churches.

Truth. If there be a *Ministry* sent forth by *Christs* supreme power; and a *Ministry* sent forth by the *Magistrates* subordinate power to gather Churches, I aske what is the difference between these two? Is there any gathering of Churches but by that *commission, Mat. 28. Teach and baptize?* And is the civill Mag-

istrate [168] intrusted with a power from *Christ* as his *Deputy* to give this *commission*, and so to send out *Ministers* to preach and baptize?

As there is nothing in the *Testament* of *Christ* concerning such a *delegation* or *assignment* of such power of *Christ* to the *civill Magistrate*: So I also ask, since in every free State *civill Magistrates* have no more power but what the peoples of those *States, Lands* and *Countries* betrust them with, whether or no (by this meanes) it must not follow that *Christ Iesus* hath left with the Peoples and Nations of the World, his Spirituall Kingly power to grant commissions and send out Ministers to themselves, to preach, convert and baptize themselves? How inevitably this followes upon their conclusion of power in Magistrates to send, &c. and what unchristian and unreasonable consequences must flow from hence, let all consider in the feare of *God*.

Iehosaphats sending forth the *Levites* to teach in *Iudab, &c.* as they alledge it not; so elsewhere it shall more fully appeare to be a type and figure of *Christ Iesus* the only King of his Church providing for the feeding of his Church and People by his true *Christian Priests* and *Levites*, viz. The *Ministry* which in the *Gospel* he hath appointed.

If the Magistrate then much more the people of the world, from whom the Magistrates receive their power.

Iehosaphat (2 Chron. 17.) a figure of *Christ Iesus* in his Church not of the Civill Magistrate in the State.

CHAP. CV.

Peace. **WE** have examined the Ministry, be pleased (deare *Truth*) to speake to the second branch of this head, viz. the maintenance of it: They affirme that the Magistrate may force

out the Ministers maintenance from all that are taught by them, and that after the patterne of Israel, and the argument from 1 Cor. 9. Gal. 6. 6.

Truth. This theame, *viz.* concerning the maintenance of the Priests and Ministers of worship, is indeed the Apple of the Eye, the *Dianab* of the *Dianab*¹, &c. yet all that love Christ Jesus in sincerity, and soules in and from him will readily professe to abhorre filthy lucre (*Tit.* 1.) and the wages of *Balaam* (both more common and frequent then easly is discernable.)

Gal. 6. 6.
Concern-
ing the
mainte-
nance of
the Min-
istry ex-
amined.

To that Scripture *Gal.* 6. 6. Let him that is taught in the Word make him that teacheth partaker of all his goods: I answer, That teaching was of persons converted, beleivers entred into the Schoole and Family of Christ the Church, which Church being 169] rightly gathered, is also rightly invested with the power of the Lord Jesus, to force every soule therein by spirituall *weapons* and *penalties* to doe its duty.

But this forcing of the *Magistrate* is intended and practised to all sorts of *persons* without as well as within the *Church*, *unconverted*, *naturall* and dead in sinne, as well as those that live, and feeding enjoy the *benefit* of spirituall food.

Christ
Jesus never
appointed
a mainte-
nance of
his Minis-
ters from
the uncon-
verted and
unbeliev-
ing.

Now for those sorts of persons to whom *Christ Jesus* sends his Word out of *Church* estate, *Iewes* or *Gentiles*, (according to the *Parable* of *Math.* 13. *high-way bearers*, *stony ground*, and *thorny ground* hearers) wee never finde title of any *maintenance* to bee expected, least of all to bee forced and exacted from them. By *civill power* they cannot be forced, for it is no *civill payment* or businesse, no matter of *Cæsar*,

¹ Of the *Ephesians*. *Acts* xix: 28.

but concerning *God*: nor by *spirituall power*, which hath nothing to doe with those which are without, 1 *Cor.* 5.

It is reasonable to expect and demand of such as live within the *state* a *civill maintenance* of their *civill officers*, and to force it where it is denied. It is reasonable for a *Schoole-master* to demand his recompence for his labour in his *Schoole*: but it is not reasonable to expect or force it from *stranges, enemies, rebels* to that *City*, from such as come not within, or else would not bee received into the *Schoole*. What is the *Church* of *Christ Jesus*, but the *City*, the *Schoole*, and *Family* of *Christ*? the *Officers* of this *City, Schoole, Family*, may reasonably expect maintenance from such [as] they minister unto, but not from strangers, enemies, &c.

Peace. It is most true that sinne goes in a *linke*, They that for that *tenent* that all the men of the *world* may bee compelled to heare *Christ* preach (and enjoy the *labours* of the *Teacher* as well as the *Church* it selfe) compell men to heare, forceth on another also as evill, *viz.* that they should men also to pay for their hearing and conversion also be compelled to pay, as being most equall and reasonable to pay for their conversion.

Truth. Some use to urge that Text of *Luc.* 14. *Compell them to come in.*¹ Compell them to *Massé* *Compell*

¹ Augustine fell into this false interpretation in advocating the coercion of heretics. "In illis ergo, qui leniter primo adducti sunt, completa est prior obedientia: in istis autem, qui coguntur, inobedientia coercetur. Quapropter si potestate quam per religionem ac fidem regum, tempore quo debuit, divino munere accepit Ecclesia, hi qui inveniuntur

in viis & in sepibus, id est in hæresibus & in schismatibus coguntur intrare." Ep. ad Bonifacium, 185. *Opera*, tom. ii: 653.

"Putas neminem debere cogi ad iustitiam, cum legas patremfamilias dixisse servis, *Quocumque inveneritis cogite intrare?*" Ep. ad Vincentium, 93. *Opera*, tom. ii: 232. Cf. Ep. ad Donatum, 174. *Opera*, tom. ii: 616.

them, examined. (say the *Papists* :) compell them to Church and Common prayer, say the *Protestants*: Compell them to the *Meeting*, say the *New English*. In all these *compulsions* they disagree amongst themselves: but in this, *viz.* Compell them to pay[;] in this they all agree.

Two sorts
of com-
pulsion.

Morall
and

There is a double violence which both Errour and Falshood use to the soules of men.

170] First, morall and perswasive, such was the perswasion first used to *Ioseph* by his *Mistris*: such was the *perswasions* of *Tamar* from *Ammon*: such was the compelling of the *young man* by the Harlot, *Prov.* 7. shee caught him by her much faire *speech* and *kisses*. And thus is the whole world compelled to the worship of the Golden *Image*, *Dan.* 3.

Civill
Compul-
sion.

The second Compulsion is *civill*, such as *Iosephs* *Mistris* began to practise upon *Ioseph* to attaine her whorish desires.

Such as *Ammon* practised on *Tamar* to satisfie his brutish lust.

And such was *Nabuchadnezzars* second compulsion, his fiery Furnace, *Dan.* 3. and mysticall *Nabuchadnezzars* killing all that receive not his marke, *Rev.* 13.

Calvin also follows Augustine and sustains the argument for persecution drawn from this passage; "Interea non improbo, quod Augustinus hoc testimonio sæpius contra Donatistas usus est, ut probaret, priorum principum edictis ad veri Dei cultum et fidei unitatum licite cogi præfractos et rebelles: quia, etsi voluntaria est fides, videmus tamen, iis mediis utiliter domari eorum pervivaciam, qui non nisi coacti parent." *Commentarii, in loco*, tom. ii: 43.

Bayle used this text for the title of his book *Contrains-les d'entrer*, in which more directly than in his Dictionary he advocates religious toleration. "At the beginning of this work Bayle disclaims any intention of entering into a critical examination of the passage that he had taken as his motto. His refutation of the persecutor's interpretation rests not on any detailed criticism, but on a broad and general principle." Lecky, *Rationalism in Europe*, ii: 66.

The first sort of these *violences*, to wit, by powerfull argument and perswasion, the *Ministers* of the *Gospel* also use. Hence all those powerfull perswasions of Wisedomes *Maidens*, *Pro.* 9. Hence (saith *Paul*) knowing the *terroure* of the *Lord*, we perswade men, *2 Cor.* 5. and pull some out of the fire, saith *Iude*: such must that *compulsion* be, *Luc.* 14. viz. the powerfull perswasions of the *Word*, being that two-edged sword comming out of the mouth of *Christ Iesus* in his true *Ministers* sent forth to invite poore sinners to partake of the *Feast* of the *Lambe* of *God*. The *civill Ministers* of the *Commonweale* cannot be sent upon this *businessse* with their *civill weapons* and *compulsions*, but the *spirituall Minister* of the *Gospel* with his spirituall sword of *Christs* mouth, a sword with two edges.

The Ministers of Christ Iesus compell with no other sword then that of Christs mouth, the sword of the Spirit with two edges.

But more particularly the *contributions* of *Christs Kingdome* are all holy and spirituall, though consisting of materiall earthly *substance*, (as is *Water* in *Baptisme*, *Bread* and *Wine* in the *Supper*) and joyned with prayer and the *Lords Supper*, *Aet.* 2. 42.

The maintenance of the Ministry spirituall.

Hence as Prayer is called *Gods sacrifice*, so are the *contributions* and mutuall supplyes of the Saints, *sacrifices*, *Phil.* 4.

Naturall men can neither truly worship nor maintain it.

Hence also as it is impossible for *naturall* men to bee capable of *Gods worship*, and to feed, be nourished and edified by any spirituall ordinance, no more then a *dead childe* can sucke the breast, or a *dead man* feast:

So also is it as impossible for a *dead man* yet lodged in the grave of Nature to contribute spirituallly (I meane according to *Scriptures* rule) as for a *dead man* to pay a *reckoning*.

I question not but naturall men may for the outward act *preach, pray, contribute, &c.* but neither are they worshippers fuitable to him [171] who is a Spirit (*Iohn 4.*) nor can they (least of all) bee forced to worship or the maintenance of it, without a guilt of their hypocrisie.

Peace. They will say, what is to be done for their soules?

Truth. The *Apostles* (whom wee professe to imitate) preached the *Word* of the *Lord* to unbelievers, without mingling in *worship* with them, and such *Preachers* and preaching, such as pretend to be the true *Ministry* of *Christ*, ought to be and practise: Not forcing them all their dayes to come to *Church* and pay their *duties*, either so confessing that this is their *Religion* unto which they are forced: or else that (as before) they are forced to be of no Religion all their dayes.

Rebels not
subdued
by compli-
ance, but
resistance.

The way to subdue *Rebels* is not by *correspondence* and *communion* with them, by forcing them to keepe the *City Watches*, and pay *seffements, &c.* which all may be practised (upon compulsion) treacherously, the first work with such is powerfully to subdue their judgments and wills, to lay downe their *weapons*, and yeeld willing subjection: then come they orderly into the City, and so to Citie priviledges.

CHAP. CVI.

Peace. PLEASE you now (deare Truth) to discusse the *Scriptures* from the *Old Testament, Nebem. 13. and 2 Chron. 31.*

Truth. God gave unto that *Nationall Church* of The nationall Church of the Jewes the Jewes that excellent Land of *Canaan*, and therein *Houſes* furnished, *Orchards*, *Gardens*, *Vineyards*, *Olive* of the *yards*, *Fields*, *Wells*, &c. they might well in this ſet- Jewes might well be forced to a ſettled mainte- tled abundance, and the promiſed continuation and nance of increaſe of it afford a large temporall ſupply to their their *Prieſts* and *Levites*, even to the *Tenth* of all they did poſſeſſe.

Gods people are now in the *Gospell* brought into a prieſts but not ſo the ſpirituall land of *Canaan*, flowing with ſpirituall milk and honey, and they abound with *ſpirituall* and the Chriſtian heavenly *comforts*, though in a poore and *perſecuted* Church. *condition*, therefore an inforced ſettled maintenance is not ſutable to the *Gospell*, as it was to the *Miniftry* of *Prieſts* and *Levites* in the *Law*.

Secondly, in the change of the Church eſtate, there was alſo a change of the *Prieſthood* and of the *Law*, *Heb. 7.* Nor did the *Lord Ieſus* appoint that in his *Church*, and for the maintenance of his [172] *Miniftrie*, the *Civill ſword* of the *Magiſtrate*, but that the *Spirituall Sword* of the *Miniftrie* ſhould alone com-
pell.

3. Therefore the *compulſion* uſed under *Hezekiah* The Civill and *Nehemiah*, was by the *civill* and *corporall* Sword of *Sword*, a type (in that typicall State) not of another *materiall* the Nationall and *corporall*, but of an heavenly and ſpirituall, even Church of the Jewes the *ſword* of the *Spirit*, with which *Chriſt* fighteth, could not type out *Revel. 3.* which is exceeding ſharpe, entring in a Civill, between the *ſoule* and *ſpirit*, *Heb. 4.* and bringing but a every thought into *captivitie* to the *obedience* of *Chriſt* Spirituall *Ieſus*: He that ſubmits not at the ſhaking of this Sword *ſword*, is cut off by it; and he that deſpiſeth this of the

Christian
Church.

sword, all the power in the *World* cannot make him a true *worshipper*, or by his purse a maintainer of *Gods worship*.

No man
should be
bound to
worship,
nor main-
taine a
Worship
against
his own
consent.

Lastly, If any man professing to be a *Minister* of *Christ Jesus*, shall bring men before the *Magistrate* (as the practice hath been, both in *Old* and *New England*) for not paying him his *wages* or his due: I aske (if the voluntarie consent of the party hath not obliged him) how can either the officers of the *Parish*, *Church*, or of the *Civill State* compell this or that man to pay so much (more or lesse) to maintaine such a *Worship* or *Ministrie*? I ask further, if the determining what is each mans due to pay, why may they not determine the tenth and more, as some desired (others opposing) in *New England*, and force men not only to maintenance, but to a *Jewish* maintenance.

Peace. Yea but (say they) is not the *Labourer* worthy of his hire?

Christs
labourers
worthy of
their hire,
but from
them that
hire them

Truth. Yes, from them that hire him, from the *Church*, to whom he laboureth or ministreth, not from the *Civill State*: no more then the Minister of the *Civill State* is worthy of his hire from the *Church*, but from the *Civill State*, (in which I grant the persons in the *Church* ought to be assistant in their *Civill* respects.)

Peace. What maintenance (say they) shall the *Ministrie* of the *Gospell* have?

What
mainten-
ance
Christ
hath ap-
pointed

Truth. We finde two wayes of maintenance for the *Ministrie* of the *Gospell*, proposed for our direction in the *New Testament*.

First, the free and willing contribution of the

Saints, according to 1 *Cor.* 16. *Luc.* 8. 3. &c. upon which both the Lord *Jefus*, and his Ministers lived. his Ministers in the Gospell.

Secondly, the diligent worke and labour of their owne hands, [173] as *Paul* tells the *Theſſalonians*, and that in two caſes :

1. Either in the inabilities and neceſſities of the Church.

2. Or for the greater advantage of Chriſts truth ; as when *Paul* ſaw it would more advantage the name of Chriſt, he denies himſelfe, and falls to worke amongſt the *Corinthians* and *Theſſalonians*.

Let none call theſe caſes extraordinary : for if perſecution be the portion of Chriſts ſheep, and the buſines or worke of Chriſt muſt be dearer to us then our right eyes or lives, ſuch as will follow *Paul*, and follow the Lord *Jefus*, muſt not thinke much at, but rejoyce in *poverties*, *neceſſities*, *hunger*, *cold*, *nakedneſſe*, &c. The *Stewards* of Chriſt *Jefus* muſt be like their Lord, and abhorre to ſteale as the evill *Steward*, pretending that he ſhamed to beg, but peremptorily, dig he could not.

CHAP. CVII.

Peace. ONE and the laſt branch (deare *Truth*) remaines concerning Schooles.

“The *Churches* (ſay they) much depend upon the “*Schooles*, and the *Schooles* upon the *Magiſtrates*.

Truth. I honour *Schooles* for *Tongues* and *Arts* :¹

¹ In *The Hireling Miniſtry none of Chriſts*, (London, Printed in the ſecond Moneth, 1652.) pages 14, 15, 16, 17, Williams repeats theſe views on the English Univerſities at greater length. He expreſſly diſclaims any prejudice againſt learning and education. “I heartily acknowledge that among all the out-

Universities of Europe a cause of universall sins & plagues, yet Schooles honourable for Tongues and Arts.

but the *institution* of *Europes Universities*, devoting persons (as is said) for *Scholars*, in a *Monasticall* way, forbidding *Mariage* and Labour to, I hold as far from the mind of Iesus Christ, as it is from propagating his Name and Worship.

We count the Universities the Fountaines, the Seminaries or Seed-plots of all Pietie: but have not those Fountaines ever sent what streames the Times have liked? and ever changed their taste and colour to the Princes eye and Palate?

For any depending of the Church of Christ upon such Schooles, I finde not a tittle in the Testament of Christ Iesus.

Christ's church his

I finde the *Church* of Christ frequently compared

ward Gifts of God, humane learning and the *knowledge* of *Languages* and good *Arts*, are excellent and excell other outward *gifts*, as far as *light* excels *darknesse*, and therefore that *Schools* of *humane Learning*, ought to be maintained, in a due way and cherished." p. 14. "Far be it from me to derogate from that *honourable civility* of training up of *Youth* in *Languages* and other humane *Learning*. All that I bear witness against, is the *counterfeiting* and *sacrilegious* arrogating of the *titles* and *rights* of Gods Saints, and *Churches* which are the only *Schools* of the *Prophets*." p. 17. "Upon a due survey of their *Institutions* and continuall practices compared with the last *Will* and *Testament* of Christ Iesus, they will be found to be none of Christs, and that in many respects. First, as to the name *Schollar*, although as to *humane learning*, many wayes lawfull, yet as it is appropriated to such as practise the Ministry, have been at the *Universities* (as they

say) It is a *sacrilegious* and theevish title, robbing all *beleevers* and *Saints*, who are frequently in the *Testament* of Christ, stiled Disciples or Schollars of Christ Iesus, and only they as *Beleevers*. Secondly, As to their Monkish and idle course of life. * * * Thirdly, As to their *Papish* and vaunting *Titles* so strange from the *New Testament* and *language* of *Christ Iesus*. * * * Fourthly, As to their (pretended) *Spirituall* and holy exercises proper onely to the *Churches* and *Assemblies* of the *Saints* (the onely *Schools* of the *Prophets* appointed by *Christ Iesus*: Fifthly, As to their being prepared and fitted by these means, as in a way of *Prentiship*, to set up the *Trade* and way of *Preaching*, the science or faculty of *Spirituall merchandise* (*Revel.* 18. in a deep *Mystery*) of all sorts of *Spices* and precious things, the precious and sweet *Truths* and *Promises* of holy *Scripture*, &c." pp. 14. 15. 16.

to a *Schoole*: All *Beleevers* are his *Disciples* or *Scholars*, yea *women* also, *Acts* 9. 36. There was a certaine *Disciple* or *Scholar* called *Dorcas*.

Schoole,
and all
Believers
Scholars.

Have not the *Universities* sacrilegiously stole this blessed name of *Christs Scholars* from his people? Is not the very Scripture language it selfe become *absurd*, to wit, to call *Gods* people, especially *Women* (as *Dorcas*) *Scholars*?

174] *Peace*. Some will object, how shall the *Scriptures* be brought to *light* from out of *Popish darknesse*, except these *Schooles* of *Prophets* convey them to us?

Truth. I know no *Schooles* of *Prophets* in the *New Testament*, but the particular *Congregation* of *Christ Jesus*, 1 *Cor.* 14. And I question whether any thing but *Sinne* stopt and dried up the *current* of the *Spirit* in those rare *gifts* of *tongues* to *Gods sons & daughters*, serving so admirably both for the understanding of the *Originall Scriptures*, and also for the propagating of the name of *Christ*.

Who knows but that it may please the *Lord* againe to cloath his people with a spirit of *zeale* and *courage* for the name of *Christ*, yea and powre forth those fiery streames againe of *Tongues* and *Prophecie* in the *restauration* of *Zion*?

Who
knowes
but God
may againe
powre
forth the
gifts of
Tongues?

If it be not his holy pleasure so to doe, but that his people with daily study and labour must *dig* to come at the *Originall Fountaines*, *Gods people* have many wayes (besides the *Universitie*, *laxie* and *Monkish*) to attaine to an excellent measure of the knowledge of those *tongues*.

Tongues
attainable
out of
Oxford
or Cam-
bridge.

That most despised (while living) and now much

Mr. Ainsworth. honoured Mr. *Ainsworth*,¹ had scarce his Peere amongst a thousand *Academians* for the Scripture *Originals*, and yet he scarce set foot within a *Colledge* walls.

CHAP. CVIII.

Peace. I Shall now present you with their 10. Head, viz. concerning the Magistrates power in matters of Doctrine.

“That which is unjustly ascribed to the Pope, is
 “as unjustly ascribed to the Magistrates, viz. to have
 “power of making new Articles of Faith, or Rules
 “of Life, or of pressing upon the Churches to give
 “such publike honour to the Apocrypha writings, or
 “Homilies of men, as to read them to the people in
 “the roome of the Oracles of God.

Truth. This *Position* simply considered I acknowledge a most holy truth of *God*, both against the *Pope*, and the *Civill Magistrates* challenge, both pretending to be the *Vicars* of *Christ Jesus* upon the *Earth*. Yet two things here I shall propose to *consideration*.

¹ Henry Ainsworth was a Separatist, and teacher of the church in Amsterdam. He wrote *Annotations of the Five Books of Moses, the Psalms, and the Song of Solomon*. A list of his works is given in Brook's *Puritans*, ii: 303.

Bishop Hall (*Apology against Brownists*, Works, x: 5-113.) treats Ainsworth with as much respect as he could feel for one of his sect, and evidently regards him as its most learned man.

Even Cotton gave him praise. “Mr. *Aynsworths* name is of best esteeme (with-

out all exception) in that way, who refused Communion with hearing in England.” Cotton's *Answer*, p. 122. “Mr. *Ainsworth*, a man of a more modest and humble spirit, and diligently studious of the Hebrew Text, hath not been unuseful to the Church in his Exposition of the *Pentateuch*, especially of *Moses* his Rituals, notwithstanding some uncircumcised, and ungrounded Rabbinical observations recited, but not refuted.” *Way of Cong. Churches Cleared*, p. 6.

First, since the *Parliament of England* thrust the *Pope* out of his *chaire* in *England*, and set downe *King Henry the 8.* in the *Popes* roome, establishing them supreme *Governours* of the *Church of England*,[:] since such an absolute government is given by all men to them to be *Guardians* of the first *Table* and *worship* of *God*; to set up the true *worship*, to suppress all *false*, and that by the power of the *Sword*; and therefore consequently they must judge and determine what the *true* is, and what the *false*.[:]

And since the *Magistrate* is bound (by these *Authours* principles) to see the *Church*, the *Church* officers and members doe their duty, he must therefore judge what is the *Churches* duty, and when she performes or not performes it, or when she exceeds, so likewise when the *Ministers* performe their duty, or when they exceed it.

And if the *Magistrate* must judge, then certainly by his owne *eye*, and not by the *eyes* of others, though assembled in a *Nationall* or *Generall Councell*.

Then also upon his judgement must the people rest, as upon the minde and judgement of *Christ*, or else it must be confest that he hath no such power left him by *Christ* to compell the soules of men in matters of *Gods* worship.

Secondly, concerning the *Apocrypha* writings and *Homilies* to be urged by the *Magistrate* to be read unto the people as the *Oracles* of *God*: I aske if the *Homilies* of *England* contain not in them much pretious and heavenly matter! Secondly, if they were not penn'd (at least many of them) by *excellent* men

King Henry the 8. set downe in the *Popes* chaire in *England*.

If the *Magistrate* must punish in *Spiritual* cases he must of necessity be judge in *Spiritual* causes also.

Apocrypha, *Common Prayer* and *Homilies*, pretious to our forefathers.

for *learning*, *holinesse*, and *witnesse* of *Christs Truth* incomparable. Thirdly, were they not authorisid by that most rare and pious *Prince Ed. 6.* then *head* of the *Church of England*? With what great solemnity and rejoycing were they received of thousands?'

Yet now behold their *children* after them sharply censure them for *Apocrypha* writings and *Homilies* thrust into the roome of the *Word of God*, and so falling into the *consideration* of a false and counterfeit *Scripture*.

A case.

I demand of these worthy men whether a servant of God might then lawfully have refused to read or heare such a false Scripture?

Secondly, if so, whether *King Edward* might have lawfully compelled such a man to yeeld and submit,

¹ Bishop Short says (*History of Church of England*, chap. viii. §412, note,) "The history of the composition of the Homilies is buried in so much obscurity that a short note will convey to the reader all that is known concerning them. The first volume is generally attributed to Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hopkins and Becon. Burnet (Pref. to the Thirty Nine Articles, p. iii.) says that Jewel was particularly engaged in compiling the second. Archbishop Parker, however, in 1563, speaks of them as being "revised and finished, with a second part by him and the other bishops." (Strype's *Parker*, i: 253.) 'The homilies on Salvation, Faith, and Good Works, are with reason attributed to Cranmer.' 'The first edition of the first book was published July, 1547, 1 Edward VI.

The Puritans always felt a dislike for the public use of the Apocrypha. It was one of the accusations of Martin

Mar-prelate against Archbishop Whitgift, "that he commanded the Apocrypha to be bound up with the Bibles." Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, i: 590. It was one of the objections to the Book of Common Prayer in the Apology of the Lincolnshire ministers presented to James I. in 1604, that it made a disproportionate use of lessons from the Apocrypha. Neal's *Puritans*, i: 246. In the Hampton Court Conference (Jan. 16, 1603,) the Puritan ministers took exceptions especially to the Service book, and among other points to the reading of the Apocrypha. Strype's *Whitgift*, iii: 404. In the Savoy Conference (1661) the same exceptions were taken by Baxter in behalf of the Nonconformists, but only to lead to the insertion of new Apocryphal lessons, with the concession that they should not be read on Sundays. Short, *Hist. Church of England*, chap. xv. §671. Neal's *Puritans*, ii: 233.

or else have persecuted him, yea (according to the Authors principles) whether he ought to have spared him, because after the *admonitions* of such pious and learned men, this man shall now prove an *Hereticke*, and as an obstinate person sinning against the *light* of his owne *conscience*?

176] In this case what shall the *conscience* of the subject doe, awed by the *dread* of the most *High*? What shall the *conscience* of the *Magistrate* do, zealous for his glorious *Reformation*, being constantly perswaded by his *Clergy* of his *Lieutenants*hip received from *Christ*?

Again, what *priviledge* have those worthy servants of God either in *Old* or *New England*, to be exempted from the mistakes, into which those glorious *Worthies* in *K. Edwards* time did fall? and if so, what bloody *conclusions* are presented to the World, perswading men to plucke up by the *Roots* from the Land of the living, all such as seem in their eyes hereticall or obstinate?

Reforma-
tions are
fallible.

Bloudy
conclu-
sions.

CHAP. CIX.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, What darke and dismall bloudy paths doe we walke in? How is thy name and mine in all ages cried up, yet as an English Flag in a Spanish bottome, not in truth but dangerous treachery and abuse both of *Truth* and *Peace*?

We are now come to the 11 Head which con- 11 Head.
cernes the *Magistrates* power in worship.

“First, they have power (say they) to reforme
“things in the worship of God in a Church cor-

“rupted, and to establish the pure worship of God,
 “defending the same by the power of the sword
 “against all those who shall attempt to corrupt it.’

“For first, the reigning of Idolatry and corruption
 “in Religion is imputed to the want of a King,
 “*Iudges* 17. 5, 6.

“Secondly, Remissiones in Reforming Religion, is
 “a fault imputed to them who suffered the High
 “Places in *Israel*[,] and in *Gallio*, who cared not for
 “such things, *Acts* 18.

“Thirdly, Forwardness this way is a duty not only
 “for Kings in the Old Testament, but for Princes
 “under the New, 1 *Tim.* 2. 2. *Rom.* 13. 4. *Esfay* 49.
 “23. Neither did the Kings of *Israel* reforme things
 “amisse as types of Christ, but as Civill Magistrates,
 “and so exemplary to all Christians. And here Ref-
 “ormation in Religion is commendable in a Persian
 “King, *Ezra* 7. 23. And it is well knowne that
 “remissiones in Princes of Christendome in matters
 “of Religion and Worship (divolving the care thereof
 “only to the Clergy, and so setting the Hornes thereof
 “upon the Churches head) hath been the cause of
 “Antichristian inventions, usurpations and corruptions
 “in the Worship and Temple of God.

177] “Secondly, they have not power to presse upon
 “the Churches, stinted Prayers, or set Liturgies,
 “whether New or Old, Popish, or others under col-
 “our of uniformity of Worship, or morall goodnesse

¹ “If any church one or more shall
 grow schismaticall, rending itself from the
 communion of other churches, or shall
 walke incorrigibly or obstinately in any
 corrupt way of their own, contrary to

the rule of the word; in such case the
 Magistrate is to put forth his coercive
 power as the matter shall require.”
Cambridge Platform, xvii: 9. p. 29.

“of them both for matter and forme, conceiving our arguments sent to our Brethren in *England* concerning this Question to evince this Truth.’

“Thirdly, they have no power to presse upon the Churches, neither by Law (as hath been said before) nor by Proclamation and command, any sacred significant ceremonies, whether more or lesse, Popish or Jewish rite, or any other device of man, be it never so little in the worship of God, under what colour soever of indifferencie, civility, using them without opinion of sanctity, publicke peace or obedience to righteous Authority, as Surplice, Crosse, kneeling at Sacrament; Salt and Spittle in Baptisme, Holy dayes: They having beene so accursed of God, so abused by man, the imposing of some ever making way for the urging of more, the receiving of some making the conscience bow to the burthen of all.

“Fourthly, they have not power to governe and rule the acts of worship in the Church of God.

¹ An Answer of the Elders of the Severall Chvrches in New England unto Nine Positions, sent over to them (By divers Reverend and godly Ministers in England) to declare their Judgements therein. Written in the Yeer, 1639. London, 1643.

This Book is printed and bound, having a consecutive paging, with “An Apologie for Church-Covenant, &c. Sent over in Answer to Master Bernard, in the Yeare 1639.” It is also bound together with The Answer to Two and Thirty Questions, (see p. 215, *supra*) and is connected with it on the title-page, although with separate pagination.

That this, as well as the other work was written by Richard Mather we have not only the evidence cited on page 215, but also the testimony of his son-in-law, Increase Mather. “There is a book which bears the title of ‘Answer of the Elders’ &c. printed in the year 1643, of which book my father Mather was the sole author, & he wrote it in the primitive times of those churches (viz. in the year 1639) as himself assured me.” *Order of the Gospel*, p. 73.

The first Position is “That a stinted Forme of Prayer, or set Liturgie, is unlawfull.” pp. 55–60.

“It is with a Magistrate in a State, in respect of
 “the acts of those who worship in a Church, as it is
 “with a Prince in a Ship, wherein, though he be
 “governour of their persons (else he should not be
 “their Prince) yet is not governour of the actions of
 “the Mariners (then he should be Pilot :) Indeed if
 “the Pilot shall manifestly erre in his action, he may
 “reprove him, and so any other passenger may : Or
 “if he offend against the life and goods of any, he
 “may in due time and place civilly punish him,
 “which no other passenger can doe : For, it is proper
 “to Christ, the Head of the Church, as to prescribe,
 “so to rule the actions of his own worship in the
 “wayes of his servants, *Efsay* 9. 6, 7. The govern-
 “ment of the Church is upon his shoulder, which
 “no Civill officer ought to attempt : And therefore
 “Magistrates have no power to limit a Minister either
 “to what he shall preach or pray, or in what manner
 “they shall worship God, lest hereby they shall
 “advance themselves above Christ, and limit his
 “Spirit.

Truth. In this generall Head are proposed two things.

First, what the Magistrate ought to doe positively concerning the worship of God.

178] Secondly, what he may doe in the worship of God.

What he ought to doe is comprised in these particulars.

First, he ought to reforme the worship of God when it is corrupted.

Secondly, he ought to establish a pure worship of God.

Thirdly, he ought to defend it by the sword: he ought to restrain Idolatry by the sword, and to cut off *offendours*, as former passages have opened.

For the prooffe of this positive part of his duty are propounded three sorts of Scriptures.

First, from the practice of the *Kings of Israel* and *Judab*.

Secondly, some from the *New Testament*.

Thirdly, from the practice of *Kings* of other *Nations*.

Unto which I answer.

First, concerning this latter, the *Babylonian* and *Persian Kings*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Cyrus*, *Darius*, *Artaxerxes*: I conceive I have sufficiently before proved,¹ that these *Idolatrous Princes* making such *Acts* concerning the *God of Israel*, whom they did not *worship* nor *know*, nor meant so to doe, did onely *permit* and tolerate, and *countenance* the *Jewish worship*, and out of strong *convictions* that this *God of Israel* was able to doe them good (as well as their owne *gods*) to bring wrath upon them and their *Kingdomes*, as they beleevd their owne also did, in which respect all the *Kings* of the *world* may be easily brought to the like: but are no *president* or *patternes* for all *Princes* and *Civill Magistrates* in the *World*, to challenge or assume the *power* of *ruling* or *governing* the *Church of Christ*, and of wearing the spirituall *Crowne* of the *Lord*, which he alone weareth in a *spirituall* way by his *Officers* and *Governours* after his owne holy appointment.

The argument from the Babylonian and Persian kings reminded.

Secondly, for those of the *New Testament* I have (as I beleevd) fully and sufficiently answered.

¹ Chap. xcvi.

So also that prophesie of *Isa.* 49.¹

The president of the Kings and Governours of Israel and Judah examined.

Lastly, however I have often touched those Scriptures produced from the practice of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*: yet because so great a waight of this controversie lyes upon this *president* of the *Old Testament*, from the duties of this *nature* enjoyned to those *Kings* and *Governours*, and their practices, *obeying* or *disobeying*, accordingly *commended* or *reproved*. I shall (with the helpe of *Christ Iesus*, the true *King* of *Israel*) declare and demonstrate how weake 179] and brittle this supposed *Pillar* of *Marble* is, to beare up and sustain such a mighty burthen and waight of so many high concerns as are laid upon it. In which I shall evidently prove that the *state* of *Israel* as a *Nationall State* made up of *Spirit-uall* and *Civill power*, so farre as it attended upon the *spirituall*, was meerly figurative and typing out the *Christian Churches* consisting of both *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, enjoying the true power of the *Lord Iesus*, establishing, reforming, correcting, defending in all cases concerning his *Kingdome* and *Government*.

The state of Israel relating to spirituall matters proved typicall.

CHAP. CX.

Peace. **B**lessed be the *God* of *Truth*, the *God* of *Peace*, who hath so long preserved us in this our retired *conference* without *interruptions*: His *mercy* still shields us while you expresse and I listen to that so much *imitated*, yet most *unimitable State* of *Israel*.

Yet before you descend to *particulars* (deare Truth) let me cast one *Mite* into your great *Treasury* con-

The Persian Kings

cerning that Instance (just now mentioned) of the *Persian Kings*. make evidently against

Me thinkes those *presidents* of *Cyrus*, *Darius* and *Artaxerxes* are strong against *New Englands Tenent* and *practice*. Those *Princes* professedly gave free *permission* and bountifull *incouragement* to the *Consciences* of the *Iewes*, to use and practise their *Religion*, which *Religion* was most eminently contrary to their owne *Religion* and their Countries worship. such as produce them for maintenance of the doctrine of persecution.

Truth. I shall (sweet Peace) with more delight passe on these rough wayes, from your kinde acceptance and unwearied patience in attention.

In this discovery of that vast and mighty difference betweene that State of *Israel* and all other States (onely to bee matched and parallel'd by the *Christian Church* or *Israel*) I shall select some maine and principall considerations concerning that State wherein the irreconciliable *differences* and disproportion may appeare.

First, I shall consider the very *Land* and *Country* of *Canaan* it selfe, and present some *considerations* proving it to be a *None-such*. The Land of Canaan chosen by God to be

First, this *Land* was espyed out and chosen by the *Lord* out of all the *Countries* of the *World* to be the seat of his Church and people, *Ezek.* 20. 6. the seat of the Church, but under

But now there is no respect of *Earth*, of *Places* or *Countries* with the *Lord*: So testified the *Lord Iesus Christ* himselfe to the [180] woman of *Samaria* (*Iohn* 4.) professing that neither at that *Mountaine* nor at *Ierusalem* should men worship the *Father*. the New Testament all Nations alike.

While that Nationall State of the *Church* of the *Iewes* remained, the Tribes were bound to goe up to

Ierusalem to worship, Psal. 122. But now, *in every Nation* (not the whole Land or Country as it was with Canaan) he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him, *Act. 10. 35.* This then appeared in that large Commission of the Lord Jesus to his first Ministers: Goe into *all Nations*, and not onely into Canaan, to carry tidings of Mercy, &c.

Secondly, the former Inhabitants thereof, seven great and mightie *Nations* (*Deuter. 7.*) were all devoted to destruction by the Lords owne mouth, which was to bee performed by the impartiall hand of the Children of Israel, without any sparing or shewing *Mercy.*

The inhabitants of Canaans Land everyfoule to be put to death that the Israelites might enjoy their possessions: not so now.

But so now it hath not pleased the Lord to devote any people to present Destruction, commanding his people to kill and slay without *Covenant* or *Compassion, Deuteronomy 7. 2.*

Where have *Emperours, Kings, or Generals* an immediate call from God to destroy whole Cities, City after City, Men, women, Children, Old and Young, as *Ioshua* practised? *Ioshua 6. and 10. Chapters, &c.*

This did Israel to these seven Nations, that they themselves might succeed them in their Cities, Habitations, and Possessions.

This onely is true in a spirituall *Antitype*, when Gods people by the Sword (the two-edged Sword of *Gods Spirit*) slay the ungodly and become *Heires*, yea fellow *Heires* with *Christ Iesus, Romanes 8.* Gods meeke people inherit the earth, (*Matthew 5.*) They mystically like *Noah* (*Hebrewes 11.*) condemne the whole unbelieving World, both by present and future sentence, *2 Corinth. 6. 2.*

CHAP. CXI.

THirdly, the very *materials*, the *Gold* and *Silver* of the Idols of this Land were odious and abominable, and dangerous to the people of *Israel*, that they might not desire it, nor take it to themselves, 181] *Deut.* 7. 25. 26. left themselves also become a *curse*, and like unto those cursed abominable things. Whereas we finde not any such accursed *nature* in the *materials* of *Idols* or *Images* now, but that (the *Idolatrous formes* being changed) the *silver* and *gold* may be cast and coyned, and other *materialls* lawfully employed and used.

The very materiall gold & silver of Canaans Images typically to be abhorred.

Yet this we finde in the *Antitype*, that *gold*, *silver*, yea *house*, *land*, yea *wives*, *children*, yea *life* it selfe, as they allure and draw us from *God* in *Christ*, are to be abominated and hated by us, without which *hatred* and *indignation* against the most plausible and pleasing enticings from *CHRIST* *JESUS*, it is impossible for any man to bee a true *Christian*, Luke 14. 16.

Fourthly, this Land, this *Earth* was an *Holy land*, Zach. 2. 12. Ceremonially and typically *holy*, *Fields*, *Gardens*, *Orchards*, *Houses*, &c. which *Holines* the World knowes not now in one *Land*, or *Country*, *House*, *Field*, *Garden*, &c. one above another.

The Land of Canaan ceremonnially holy.

Yet in the Spirituall *Land of Canaan* the *Christian Church*, all things are made holy and pure (in all Lands) to the pure, *Tit.* 1. meats and drinkes are sanctified, that is, dedicated to the holy use of the thankfull *Believers*, 1 *Tim.* 4. yea and the *unbelieving Husband*, *Wife*, and their Children are sanctified and made holy to *Believers*, insomuch that that golden

Greater holynesse in the Antitype under the Gospel, then in the types under the Law.

inscription (peculiar to the *forehead* of the *Higb Priest*) *Holines* to *Jehovah*, shall be written upon the very *Bridles* of the *Horfes*, as all are dedicated to the service of *Chrift Jesus* in the Gospels peace and holines.

The Land
of Canaan
Jehovahs
Land.

Fifthly, the Lord exprefly calls it his own Land, *Levit.* 25. 23. *Hof.* 9. 3. *Jehovah* his Land, a terme proper unto Spirituall *Canaan*, the *Church* of *God*, which must needs be in respect of his choice of that *Land* to be the Seate and Residence of his *Church* and *Ordinances*.

But now the partition *wall* is broken down, and in respect of the *Lords* speciall proprietie to one Country more then another, what difference between *Asia* and *Africa*, between *Europe* and *America*, between *England* and *Turkie*, *London* and *Constantinople*?

Emanuel
Land: fo
no Land
or country
more then
another.

This Land (among many other glorious *Titles* given to it) was called *Emanuel*s land, that is, *God* with us, *Chrift* his land, or *Chriftian* land, *Isa.* 8. 8.

But now: *Jerusalem* from above is not materiall and Earthly, [182] but Spirituall, *Gal.* 4. *Heb.* 12. *Materiall Jerusalem* is no more the *Lords* citie then *Jericho*, *Ninivie*, or *Babell* (in respect of place or Countrey) for even at *Babell* literall was a *Church* of *Jesus Chrift*, 1 *Pet.* 5.

The Blasphemous
titles of
the Chrift-
ned and
Christian
World.

It is true that *Antichrift* hath *christned* all those *Countries* whereon the *Whore* sitteth, *Revel.* 17. with the Title of *Chrifts* land, or *Chriftian* land.

And *Hundius*,¹ in his *Map* of the *Chriftian* World,

¹ Joffe Hondius (1546–1611) was an engraver and one of the geographers who in the 16th century begun to give more accuracy to cosmography, although re-

makes this land to extend to all *Asia*, a great part of *Africa*, all *Europe*, and a vast part of *America*, even so farre as his *unchristian Christenings* hath gone. But as every false *Christ* hath *false Teachers*, *false Christians*, *false Faith*, *Hope*, *Love*, &c. and in the end *false Salvation*, so doth he also counterfeit the false Name of *Christ*, *Christians*, *Christian* land or Countrey.

Sixthly, this Land was to keepe her *Sabbaths* unto *God*: Sixe yeares they were to sow their *Fields*, and prune their *Vines*, but in the 7. yeare they were not to sow their *Fields*, nor prune their *Vineyards*, but to eat that which grew of it selfe or own accord.

But such *Observations* doth not *God* now lay upon any *Fields*, *Vineyards*, &c. under the Gospell.

Yet in the Spirituall land of *Canaan*, the true *Church*, there is a Spirituall *Soule-rest* or *Sabbath*, a quiet depending upon *God*, a living by *Faith* in him, a making him our *portion*, and casting all care upon him who careth for us: yea sometimes he feedeth his by immediate gracious workes of *Providence*, when comforts arise out of the *Earth*, without secondary meanes or causes, as here, or as elsewhere *Manna* descended from *Heaven*.

Seventhly, such portions and possessions of *Lands*, *Fields*, *Houses*, *Vineyards*, were sold with *caution* or *proviso* of returning againe in the yeare of *Jubilee* to the right owners, *Levit.* 25. 23.

taining many of the errors of their predecessors. He published his maps at Amsterdam. He enlarged and improved the Grand Atlas of Mercator. *Biographie Universelle*, xix: 514. The text gives only an instance of the general inaccuracy

which marked the maps of that period.

"The *World* divided (say our ablest *Cosmographers*) into *thirty* parts, as yet but *five* of *thirty* have heard of the sweet name of *Jesus* a *Saviour*." *Hireling Ministry*. p. 3.

The material Land of Canaan was to keep her Sabbath, so no material land or Country now. God feedeth his sometimes immediately.

Such *cautions*, such *provisos* are not now enjoined by God in the sale of *lands, fields, inheritances*, nor no such *Jubilee* or *Redemption* to be expected.

The Jubilee of Canaan a type of restitution and redemption in the Gospell.

Yet this also finds a fulfilling in the *spirituall Canaan*, or *Church of God*, unto which the *silver Trumpet of Jubilee*, the *Gospel*, hath sounded a *spirituall restitution* of all their *spirituall rights and inheritances*, which either they have lost in the fall of the first man *Adam*, or in their particular falls, when they are captive and sold unto sin, *Rom. 7*. Or lastly in the *spirituall captivitie* of *Babels bondage*: how [183] sweet then is the name of a *Saviour*, in whom is the joyfull sound of *Deliverance* and *Redemption*!

Canaan a type of the Kingdome of God on Earth and in Heaven

Eightly, this Land or Country was a figure or type of the kingdome of *Heaven* above, begun here below in the *Church and Kingdome of God*, *Heb. 4. 8. Heb. 11. 9. 10*. Hence was a *Birthright* so pretious in *Canaan's Land*: Hence *Naboth* so inexorable and resolute in refusing to part with his Inheritance to King *Abab*, counting all *Ababs* seeming *reasonable* offers most *unreasonable*, as soliciting him to part with a *Garden* plot of *Canaan's* land, though his refusall cost him his very life.

Why Naboth refused to part with a Garden plot to his King upon hazard of his life.

What *Land*, what *Country* now is *Israels Parallel* and *Antitype*, but that holy *mysticall Nation* the *Church of God*, peculiar and called out to him out of every Nation and Country, 1 *Pet. 2. 9*. In which every true *spirituall Naboth* hath his *spirituall inheritance*, which he dares not part with, though it be to his *King* or *Soveraigne*, and though such his *refusall* cost him this present life.

CHAP. CXII.

Peace. **D**Oubtleſſe that *Canaan* Land was not a pat-
terne for all *Lands*: It was a *none-ſuch*,
unparalleled and *unmatchable*.

Truth. Many other *conſiderations* of the ſame nature
I might annex, but I picke here and there a flowre;
and paſſe on to a ſecond Head concerning the people
themſelves, wherein the ſtate of the people ſhall
appeare *unmatchable*, but only by the true Church
and *Iſrael* of God.

Fiſt, the people of *Iſrael* were all the Seed or Off-
ſpring of one man *Abraham*, *Pſal.* 105. 6. and ſo
downward the Seed of *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, hence called
the *Iſrael* of God, that is, *wraſtlers* and *prevailers*
with God, diſtinguiſhed into twelve *Tribes* all ſprung
out of *Iſraels* loynes.

But now, few *Nations* of the World but are a mixed
Seed, the people of *England* eſpecially[:| the *Britaines*,
Picts, *Romanes*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans*, by a
wonderfull providence of God being become one
Engliſh people.

Only the Spirituall *Iſrael* and Seed of God the
New-borne are but one: *Chriſt* is the Seed, *Gal.* 3.
and they only that are *Chriſts* are only *Abrahams*
Seed and Heires according to the promiſe.

This Spirituall Seed is the only *Antitype* of the
former figurative [184] and typical: A Seed which
all *Chriſtians* ought to propagate, yea even the *unmar-*
ried men and women (who are not capable of *nat-*
urall offſpring) for thus is this called the Seed of *Chriſt*
(who lived and died unmarried) *Iſa.* 59. 21.

Secondly, this people was selected and separated to the *Lord*, his *Covenant* and *Worship*[,] from all the *people* and *Nations* of the *World* beside to be his peculiar and onely people, *Levit.* 20. 26. &c.

The people of Israel separated from all Nations in Spirituall and in some Civill things.

Therefore such as returned from *Babylon* to *Jerusalem*, they separated themselves to eat the *Passover*, *Ezra* 6. And in that solemne *humiliation* and *confession* before the *Lord*, *Nehem.* 9. the *children* of *Israel* separated themselves from all strangers.

This separation of theirs was so famous, that it extended not only to *Circumcision*, the *Passover*, and matters of *Gods worship*, but even to *temporall* and *civill things*: Thus (*Ezra* 9.) they separated or put away their very wives, which they had taken of the strange *Nations* contrary to the Commandement of the *Lord*.

No Nation so separated to God in the Gospel, but only the new-borne Israel that feare God in every Nation.

But where hath the *God* of *Heaven* in the *Gospel* separated whole *Nations* or *Kingdomes* (*English*, *Scotch*, *Irish*, *French*, *Dutch*, &c.) as a peculiar people and *Antitype* of the people of *Israel*? Yea where the least footing in all the Scripture for a *Nationall Church* after *Christs* comming?

Can any people in the *world* patterne this *samplar* but the *New-borne Israel*, such as feare *God* in every *Nation* (*Acts* 10. 35.) commanded to come forth and separate from all uncleane things or persons, (*2 Cor.* 6.) and though not bound to put away strange wives as *Israel* did, because of that peculiar respect upon them in *Civill* things, yet to be holy or set apart to the *Lord* in all manner of *civill conversation*, *1 Pet.* 1. Only to marry in the *Lord*, yea and to marry as if they married not *1 Cor.* 7. yea to hate *wife* and

children, father, mother, house and land, yea and life it selfe for the Lord Iesus, *Luc. 14.*

Thirdly, this Seed of *Abraham* thus separate from all people unto the Lord was wonderfully redeemed and brought from *Ægypt's* bondage through the Red Sea, and the *Wildernesse* unto the Land of *Canaan*, by many strange signes and wonderfull miracles, wrought by the outstretched hand of the Lord, famous and dreadfull, and to be admired by all succeeding peoples and generations, *Deut. 4. 32, 33, 34.* Aske now from one side of the *Heaven* unto the other, whether there hath been such a thing as this, &c?

185] And we may aske againe from one side of the Heaven unto the other whether the Lord hath now so miraculously redeemed and brought unto *Himselfe* any Nation or people as he did this people of Israel.

Peace. The *English, Scotch, Dutch,* &c. are apt to make themselves the parallels, as wonderfully come forth of Popery, &c.

Truth. 1. But first, whole Nations are no Churches under the Gospel.

Secondly, bring the Nations of *Europe* professing *Protestantisme* to the ballance of the Sanctuary, and ponder well whether the body, bulke, the generall or one hundreth part of such peoples be truly turned to God from Popery.

Who knowes not how easie it is to turne, and turne, and turn againe whole Nations from one Religion to another?

Who knowes not that within the compasse of one poore span of 12 yeares revolution, all *England* hath become from halfe *Papist*, halfe *Protestant*, to be

The whole people of Israel miraculously brought forth of Egypt.

Not so any whole Nation now.

Popery not so easily turned from as is conceived

Wonderfull turnings in Religion

in 12
yeares
compasse
in Eng-
land.

The Pope
not unlike
to recover
his Mon-
archie
over Eu-
rope be-
fore his
downfall.

absolute *Protestants*; from absolute *Protestants*, to absolute *Papists*; from absolute *Papists* (changing as fashions) to absolute *Protestants*?

I will not say (as some worthy witnesses of *Christ* have uttered) that all *England* and *Europe* must againe submit their faire necks to the *Popes* yoke: But this, I say, many *Scriptures* concerning the destruction of the *Beast* and the *Whore* looke that way: And I adde, they that fee the pulse of the people seriously must confesse that a *victorious Sword*, and a *Spanish Inquisition* will soone make millions face about as they were in the Fore-Fathers times.

CHAP. CXIII.

Peace. **O** That the *Steersmen* of the *Nations* might remember this, Bee wise and kisse the Sonne, lest he goe on in this His dreadfull anger, and dash them in peeces here and eternally.

¹ See Chap. xxix. pp. 136, 137, *supra*, where the same thought is expressed. To this Cotton replied (*Bloody Tenent Washed*, p. 82,) "The Prophecie of *England's* Revolt againe to Popery, wanteth Scripture Light." To this Williams rejoins (*Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody*, p. 119,) "He that loves *Christ Jesus* in sincerity, cannot but long that *Christ Jesus* would speedily be pleased with the breath of his mouth to consume that man of sin: But yet that worthy servant of *God* (according to his *conscience*) Master *Archer*, doth not barely propose his *opinion*, but also his *Scripture-grounds*, which I believe, compared with all former *experiences*, will seem to be of

great & weighty *consideration*."

Henry Archer was a non-conformist preacher in London, who fled to Holland and was pastor of the English church in Arnheim in connection with Dr. Thomas Goodwin, the first of the Five Dissenting Brethren to whom Williams's "Queries" was addressed. He was a Millenarian, and wrote a work entitled "The Personal Reign of Christ upon Earth. In a Treatise wherein is fully & largely laid open & proved, that Jesus Christ, together with his Saints, shall visibly possess a monarchicall State and Kingdom in the World, 1642." Brook, *Lives of the Puritans*, ii: 455.

Truth. I therefore thirdly adde, That only such Who are now the true Seed of Abraham. as are *Abrahams Seed, circumcised in Heart, Newborne, Israel* (or *wraстlers with God*) are the *Antitype* of the former *Israel*, these are only the holy *Nation* (1 *Pet.* 2.) wonderfully redeemed from the *Ægypt* of this *World* (*Titus* 2. 14.) brought through the *Red Sea* of *Baptisme* (1 *Cor.* 10.) through the *Wildernesse* of *afflictions*, and of the *peoples* (*Deut.* 8. [186] *Ezek.* 20.) into the *Kingdome* of *Heaven* begun below, even that *Christian Land* of *Promise*, where flow the ever-flowing *streames* and *Rivers* of *Spirituall milke* and *honey*.

Fourthly, All this people universally (in typical The people of Israel all holy in a typical holinessse. and ceremoniall respect) were holy and cleane in this their *separation* and *sequestration* unto *God*, *Exod.* 19. 5. Hence, even in respect of their naturall birth in that *Land* they were an *holy Seed*, and *Ezra* makes it the matter of his great complaint, *Ezra* 9. 1. 2. The holy Seed have mingled themselves.

But where is now that *Nation* or *Country* upon the face of the *Earth*, thus cleane and holy unto *God*, and bound to so many ceremoniall cleanings and purgings?

Are not all the *Nations* of the *Earth* alike cleane unto *God*, or rather alike uncleane, untill it pleaseth the *Father* of *mercies* to call some out to the *Knowledge* and *Grace* of his *Sonne*, making them to see their *filthinesse* and *strangenesse* from the *Commonweale* of *Israel*, and to wash in the blood of the *Lambe* of *God*. All Nations now alike since the coming of the Lord Jesus.

This taking away the difference between *Nation* and *Nation*, *Country* and *Country*, is most fully and admirably declared in that great vision of all sorts of

living creatures presented unto *Peter*, *Acts* 10. whereby it pleased the *Lord* to informe *Peter* of the abolishing of the difference between *Jew* and *Gentile* in any holy or unholy, cleane or uncleane respect.

Fifthly, (not only to speake of all, but to select one or two more) This people of *Israel* in that Nationall State were a type of all the Children of *God* in all ages under the profession of the *Gospel*, who are therefore called the Children of *Abraham*, and the *Israel* of *God*, *Gal.* 3. & *Gal.* 6. A Kingly *Priesthood* and *holy Nation* (*1 Pet.* 2. 9.) in a cleare and manifest *Antitype* to the former *Israel*, *Exod.* 19. 6.

The children of *Israel* a figure of the *Israel* or people of *God* only under the *Gospel*.

Hence *Chriftians* now are figuratively in this respect called *Jewes*, *Rev.* 3. where lies a cleare distinction of the *true* and *false* *Christian* under the consideration of the *true* and *false* *Jew*: Behold I will make them of the Synagogue of *Sathan* that say they are *Jewes* and are not, but doe lie, *Rev.* 3. But such a typicall respect we finde not now upon any People, *Nation* or *Country* of the whole *World*: But out of all *Nations*, *Tongues* and *Languages* is *God* pleased to call some and redeem them to Himselfe (*Rev.* 5. 9.) And hath made no difference betweene the *Iewes* and *Gentiles*, [187] *Greekes* and *Scythians*, *Gal.* 3. who by *Regeneration* or second birth, become the *Israel* of *God*, *Gal.* 6. the *Temple* of *God*, *1 Cor.* 3. and the *true Jerusalem*, *Heb.* 12.

The people of *Israel* different from all the world in their figure

Lastly, all this whole *Nation* or people, as they were of one *typicall seed* of *Abraham*, & sealed with a shamefull & painfull *Ordinance* of *cutting off* the *fore-skin*, w^{ch} differenced them from all the *World* beside: So also were they bound to such and such

solemnities of figurative worships. Amongst many others I shall end this passage concerning the people with a famous observation out of *Numb. 9. 13. viz.* All that whole *Nation* was bound to celebrate and keepe the *Feast* of the *Passæover* in his season, or else they were to be put to death. But doth God require a whole *Nation, Country* or *Kingdome* now thus to celebrate the *spirituall Passæover*, the *Supper* and *Feast* of the *Lambe Christ Jesus*, at such a time once a yeare, and that whosoever shall not so doe shall bee put to death? What horrible *prophanations*, what grosse *hypocrisies*, -yea what wonderfull *desolations* (sooner or later) must needs follow upon such a course?

Tis true, the people of Israel, brought into covenant with God in *Abraham*, and so successively borne in Covenant with God, might (in that state of a Nationall Church) solemnly covenant and sweare that whosoever would not seeke *Jebovah the God of Israel*, should be put to death, 2 *Chron. 15.* whether small or great, whether man or woman.

But may whole *Nations* or *Kingdomes* now (according to any one *title* exprest by *Christ Iesus* to that purpose) follow that patterne of *Israel* and put to death all, both men and women, great and small, that according to the rules of the *Gospel* are not borne againe, penitent, humble, heavenly, patient? &c. What a world of hypocrisie from hence is practised by thousands, that for feare will stoope to give that God their bodies in a forme, whom yet in truth their hearts affect not?

Yea also what a world of prophanation of the holy Name and holy Ordinances of the Lord in prostitu-

rative and ceremoni-
all wor-
ships.

Israel
Gods only
Church
mightwell
renew that
Nationall
Covenant
and cere-
moniall
worship
which
other Na-
tions can-
not imi-
tate.

The hy-
pocrisies,

prophana-
tions, and
slaughters
which
such imi-
tation now
in the
Gospell
produce.

ting the holy things of God (like the Vessels of the Sanctuary, *Dan. 5.*) to prophane, impenitent and unregenerate persons?

Lastly, what slaughters both of men and women must this necessarily bring into the world, by the Insurrections and Civill Warres about Religion and Conscience? Yea what slaughters of the innocent and faithfull witnesses of Christ Iesus, who choose to bee
188] slaine all the day long for Christ his sake, and to fight for their Lord and Master Christ, onely with spirituall and Christian weapons?

CHAP. CXIV.

Peace. **I**T seemes (deare *Truth*) a mighty *Gulfe* betweene that people and Nation, and the *Nations* of the *world* then extant and ever since.

Truth. As sure as the blessed substance to all those shadowes, *Christ Iesus* is come, so unmatchable and never to bee paralleld by any *Nationall* State was that *Israel* in the *Figure* or *Shadow*.

And yet the *Israel* of *God* now, the *Regenerate* or *Newborne*, the circumcised in *Heart* by *Repentance* and *Mortification*, who willingly submit unto the *Lord Iesus* as their onely *King* and *Head*, may fitly parallell and answer that *Israel* in the type, without such danger of *hypocrisie*, of such horrible *prophana-tions*, and of firing the *Civill State* in such bloody *combustions*, as all *Ages* have brought forth upon this compelling a whole *Nation* or *Kingdome* to be the *antitype* of *Israel*.

Peace. Were this Light entertained, some hopes would shine forth for my returne and *restauration*.

Truth. I have yet to adde a third *consideration* concerning the *Kings* and *Governours* of that Land and people.

They were to be (unlesse in their *captivities*) of their *Brethren*, members of the true *Church* of God, as appeares in the History of *Moses*, the *Elders* of *Israel*, and the *Iudges* and *Kings* of *Israel* afterward.

But first, who can deny but that there may be now many lawfull *Governours*, *Magistrates* and *Kings* in the *Nations* of the World, where is no true *Church* of *Iesus Christ*?

Secondly, we know the many excellent *gifts* where-with it hath pleased God to furnish many, inabling them for publike service to their *Countries* both in *Peace* and *War* (as all *Ages* and *Experience* testifies) on whose soules hee hath not yet pleased to shine in the face of *Iesus Christ*: which *Gifts* and *Talents* must all lye buried in the *Earth*, unlesse such persons may lawfully be called and chosen to, and improved in *publike service*, notwithstanding their different or contrary *Conscience* and *Worship*.

Thirdly, if none but true *Christians*, members of *Christ Iesus* might be *Civill Magistrates*, and publicly intrusted with *civill affaires*, [189] then none but *members* of *Churches*, *Christians* should be *Husbands* of *Wives*, *Fathers* of *Children*, *Masters* of *Servants*: But against this *doctrine* the whole creation, the whole *World* may justly rise up in armes, as not onely contrary to true *Piety*, but common *Humanity* it selfe. For if a *Commonweale* bee lawfull amongst

The difference of the Kings and Governours of *Israel* from al Kings & Governours of the world. First, they were all members of the Church. Excellent Talents vouchsafed by God to unregenerate persons.

A doctrine contrary to all true Piety and Humanity it selfe.

men that have not heard of *God* nor *Christ*, certainly their *Officers*, *Ministers*, and *Governours* must be lawfull also.

The Papists doctrine of deposing Magistrates confessed in effect to be true by the Protestants.

Fourthly, it is notoriously knowne to be the dangerous *doctrine* profest by some *Papists*, that *Princes* degenerating from their *Religion*, and turning *Hereticks*, are to be deposed, and their *Subjects* actually discharged from their obedience.¹ Which *doctrine* all such must necessarily hold (however most loath to owne it) that hold the *Magistrate Guardian* of both *Tables*, and consequently such an one as is inabled to judge, yea and to demonstrate to all men the *worship* of *God*: yea and being thus *Governor* and *Head* of the *Church* he must necessarily be a part of it himselfe: which when by *Heresie* he falls from (though it may be by *Truth*, miscalled *Heresie*) he falls from his calling of *Magistracy*, and is utterly disabled from his (pretended) *guardianship* and *government* of the *Church*.

No civill Magistrate Christian in Christs time.

Lastly, we may remember the practice of the *Lord Iesus* and his *followers*, commanding and practising *obedience* to the *Higher Powers*, though we finde not one *Civill Magistrate* a *Christian* in all the *first*

¹ The Oath of Allegiance required by James I. after the Gunpowder Plot of course produced considerable controversy respecting its lawfulness. The oath declared "that the pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the church or see of *Rome*, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the King, or to dispose of any of his majesty's kingdoms or dominions; or to discharge any of his

subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his majesty, &c." Against this Paul V. issued two Briefs. Cardinal Bellarmine also wrote against it on the Papal side. For the Oath and the Briefs, with an account of the controversy, and the Declaration of the Gallican church in 1682 against the Pope's Deposing Power, see Butler's *Memoirs of English Catholics*, xlvii-l. vol. 2, 184-223.

Churches. But contrarily the *civill Magistrate* at that time was the bloody *Beast*, made up (as *Daniel* seemes to imply concerning the *Romane State*, Dan. 7. 7.) of the *Lion*, the *Beare*, and the *Leopard*, Rev. 13. 2.

CHAP. CXV.

Peace. **B**Y these waights wee may try the waight of that commonly received and not questioned *opinion*, viz. That the *civill state* and the *spirituall*, the *Church* and *Commonweale*, they are like *Hippocrates twinnes*, they are borne together, grow up together, laugh together, weepe together, sicken and die together.

Truth. A witty, yet a most dangerous *Fiction* of the *Father of Lies*, who hardned in *Rebellion* against *God*, perswades *Gods* people to drinke downe such deadly poison, though he knowes the truth of these five particulars, which I shall reminde you of.

First, many flourishing States in the World have beene and are at this day, which heare not of *Iesus Christ*, and therefore have not [190] the *presence* and *concurrence* of a *Church of Christ* with them.

Secondly, there have beene many thousands of *Gods* people, who in their personall estate and life of *grace* were awake to *God*, but in respect of *Church* estate they knew no other then a Church of dead stones, the Parish Church; or though some light be of late come in through some cranny, yet they seeke not after, or least of all are joyned to any true Church of *God*, consisting of living and beleeving stones.

So that by these *New English Ministers* principles,

Five demon-
strative argu-
ments
proving
the un-
foundnesse
of that
Maxime:
The
Church
and Com-
mon-
wealth are
like Hypo-
crates
twins.
Many
flourishing
States
without
a true
Church.
Many of
Gods peo-
ple farre
off from
a true
Church
state.

Yet fit for
civill ser-
vices.

not onely is the doore of calling to *Magistracy* shut against *naturall* and unregenerate *men* (though excellently fitted for *civill* offices) but also against the best and ablest servants of *God*, except they be entred into Church estate; so that thousands of *Gods* owne people (excellently qualified) not knowing, or not entring into such a Church estate, shall not be accounted fit for civill services.

Gods peo-
ple per-
mitted and
favoured
by Idola-
ters.

Thirdly, admit that a *civill Magistrate* be neither a member of a true Church of *Christ* (if any bee in his *dominions*) nor in his person feare *God*, yet may he (possibly) give free *permission* without *molestation*, yea and sometimes incouragement and assistance to the service and *Church* of *God*. Thus wee finde *Abraham* permitted to build and set up an *Altar* to his *God* wheresoever hee came amongst the idolatrous Nations in the Land of *Canaan*. Thus *Cyrus* proclaims liberty to all the people of *God* in his *Dominions*, freely to goe up and build the *Temple* of *God* at *Jerusalem*, and *Artaxerxes* after him confirmed it.

Thus the *Romane Emperours* and *Governours* under him permitted the *Church* of *God* [,] the *Jewes* in the *Lord Christs* time, their *Temple* and *Worship*, although in *Civill* things they were subject to the *Romanes*.

Christs
churcl.
gathered
and gov-
erned with
out the
helpe of
an arme
of flesh.

Fourthly, the Scriptures of *Truth* and the *Records* of Time concur in this, that the first *Churches* of *Christ Jesus*, the *lights*, *patternes* and *presidents* to all succeeding Ages, were gathered and governed without the aid, assistance, or countenance of any *Civill* Authoritie, from which they suffered great persecutions for the name of the *Lord Jesus* professed amongst them.

The *Nations*, *Rulers*, and *Kings* of the Earth tumultuously rage against the *Lord* and his Anointed, *Pfal.* 2. 1. 2. Yet *verf.* 6. it hath pleased the *Father* to set the *Lord Jesus* King upon his holy Hill of *Zion*.

191] *Christ Jesus* would not be pleased to make use of the *Civill Magistrate* to assist him in his Spirituall *Kingdome*: nor would he yet be daunted or discouraged in his Servants by all their *threats* and *terrors*: for *Love* is strong as *death*, and the coales thereof give a most vehement *flame*, and are not quenched by all the waters and *flouds* of mightiest opposition, *Cant.* 8.

Christs Church is like a chaste and loving *wife*, in whose *heart* is fixed her *Husbands love*, who hath found the tenderesse of his *love* towards her, and hath been made fruitfull by him, and therefore seekes she not the *smiles*, nor feares the *frownes* of all the *Emperours* in the *World* to bring her *Christ* unto her, or keep him from her.

Lastly, we finde in the tyrannicall usurpations of the *Romish Antichrist*, the 10 hornes (which some of good note conceive to be the 10 Kingdomes, into which the Romane Empire was quartred and divided) are expressely said *Revel.* 17. 13. to have one minde to give their power and strength unto the *Beast*, yea (*ver.* 17.) their *Kingdome* unto the *Beast*, untill the Words of *God* shall be fulfilled: whence it followes, that all those *Nations* that are guilded over with the name of *Christ*, have under that *mask* or *vizard* (as some *Executioners* and *Tormentors* in the *Inquisition* use to torment) persecuted the *Lord Jesus Christ*, either with a more open, grosse and bloody, or with a more subtle, secret and gentle violence.

Christs
true
Spouse
chaste and
faithfull
to Christ
Jesus in
the midst
of feares
or favours
from the
World.

The 10
horns,
Revel. 13.
& 17.

The great
mysterie
of Perfe-
ction un-
folded.

Christian
Naboths
slaugh-
tered.

Let us cast our eyes about, turne over the *Records*, and examine the experience of past and present *Generations*, and see if all particular *observations* amount not to this summe, viz. that the great *whore* hath committed fornication with the *Kings* of the *Earth*, and made drunke thereof Nations with the cup of the wine of her *fornications*: In which *drunkennes* and *whoredome* (as *whores* use to practice) she hath robbed the *Kings* and *Nations* of their *power* and *strength*, and (*Iesabel* like) having procured the *Kings* *names* and *seales*, she drinks drunk, *Revel.* 17. with the blood of *Naboth*, who (because he dares not part with his rightfull *inheritance* in the land of *Canaan*, the blessed land of promise and salvation in *Christ*) as a *Traitour* to the *civill State*, and *Blasphemmer* against *God*, she (under the colour of a day of *humiliation* in Prayer and *Fasting*) stones to death.

192]

CHAP. CXVI.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, how art thou hidden from the eyes of men, in these *mysteries*? how should men weep abundantly with *Iohn*, that the Lambe may please to open these blessed *seales* unto them?

Truth. O that Men more prized their makers feare! then should they be more acquainted with their *Makers counsell*, for his *Secret* is with them that feare him, *Psal.* 25.

2. Differ-
ence.

The myf-
terie of

I passe on to a second *Difference*.

The *Kings* of *Israel* and *Iudah* were all solemnly annointed with oyle, *Psal.* 39. 20. *I have found David*

my ſervant, with my holy Oile have I annointed him. <sup>the anoint-
ing the
Kings of
Iſrael and
Judah.</sup> Whence the Kings of Iſrael and Iudah were hon-
oured with that myſticall and glorious Title of the
Anointed, or *Chriſt* of the Lord, Lam. 4. 20. the
Breath of our Noſtrils, the *Anointed of Iehovah* was
taken in their pits, &c.

Which *anoynting* and *title*, however[,] the *Man* of
Sinne, together with the Crowne and *Diademe* of
Spirituell *Iſrael*, the *Church of God*, he hath given
to ſome of the *Kings* of the *Earth*, that ſo he may
in lieu thereof diſpoſe of their Civill Crownes the
eaſier: yet ſhall we finde it an incommunicable
priviledge and prerogative of of the *Saints* and peo-
ple of *God*.

For as the Lord *Jeſus* himſelfe in the *Antitype* was
not annointed with materiall but *ſpirituell* oyle, *Pſal.*
45. with the oyle of *Gladnes*, and *Luke* 4. 14. from
Iſa. 61. 1. with the ſpirit of *God*. The ſpirit of the
Lord is upon me, the Lord hath annointed me to <sup>The
Name
Chriſtian
or Anoint-
ed.</sup> preach good tidings, &c. So alſo all his members
are annointed with the holy *ſpirit* of *God*, 2 *Cor.* 1.
21. & 1 *John* 2.

Hence is it that *Chriſtians* rejoyce in that name,
as carrying the very expreſſe title of the *Anointed* of
the Lord; which moſt ſuperſtitiously and ſacrileg-
iouſly hath been applied only unto *Kings*.

Peace. O deare Truth, how doth the great *Searcher*
of all Hearts finde out the thefts of the *Antichriſtian* <sup>A Sacri-
legious
Monopo-
lie of the
Name
Chriſtian.</sup> World? how are men caried in the darke they know
not whither? How is that heavenly charge, Touch
not mine Anointed, &c. (*Pſal.* 105.) common to all
Chriſtians (or anointed with) *Chriſt* their Head, by

way of *Monopoly* or priuiledge appropriated to *Kings* and *Princes*?

The
Crown of
Christs
Kingly
power.

Truth. It will not be here unseasonable to call to minde that [193] admirable *Prophecie*, *Ezek.* 21. 26, 27. Thus saith *Jehovah God*, Remove the *Diadem*, take away the *Crowne*, this shall not be the same, exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high: I will overturne, overturne, overturne, untill he come whose right it is, and I will give it him. The matter is a *Crown* and *Diadem* to be taken from an *Ufurpers* head, and set upon the head of the right *Owner*.

Peace. Doubtlesse this mystically intends the spirituall Crowne of the Lord *Jesus*, for these many hundred yeares set upon the *heads* of the *Competitours* and *Corrivals* of the Lord *Jesus*, upon whose glorious head in his *Messengers* and *Churches*, the *Crown* shall be established; The *anointing*, the *title*, and the *crown* and power must returne to the Lord *Jesus* in his *Saints*, unto whom alone belongs his *power* and *authoritie* in *Ecclesiasticall* or *Spirituall* cases.

CHAP. CXVII.

3. The
Kings of
Israel and
Judah in-
vested
with a
Spirituall
power.

Truth. **I** Therefore proceed to a third difference between those *Kings* and *Governours* of *Israel* and *Judah*, and all other *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *Earth*. Looke upon the Administrations of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, and well weigh the *Power* and *Authoritie* which those *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah* exercised in *Ecclesiasticall* and *spirituall* causes, and upon a due search we shall not find the same *Scepter*

of *Spirituell* power in the hand of *Civill* Authoritie, which was settled in the hands of the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judab*.

David appointed the *Orders* of the *Priests* & *Singers*, he brought the *Arke* to *Jerusalem*, he prepared for the building of the *Temple*, the *patterne* whereof he delivered to *Salomon*: yet *David* herein could not be a type of the *Kings* and *Rulers* of the Earth, but of the *King* of Heaven, *Christ Iesus*: for,

First, *David*, as he was a *King*, so was he also a *Prophet*, *Acts* 2. 30. and therefore a type (as *Moses* also was, of that great *Prophet* the Son of God. And they that plead for *David's* Kingly power, must also by the same rule plead for his *Propheticall*, by which he swayed the Scepter of *Israel* in *Church* affaires.

Secondly, it is expressly said, 1 *Cron.* 28. 11. 12. 13. *verses*, that the *patterne* which *David* gave to *Salomon* (concerning the matter of the *Temple* and *Worship* of God, he had it by the *Spirit*, which was no other but a figure of the immediate inspiration of the *spirit* of God, unto the *Lord Iesus* the true *Spirituell King* of *Israel*, *John.* 1. [194] 49, *Rabbi*, thou art the Son of God; *Rabbi*, thou art the *King* of *Israel*.

Again, What *Civill Magistrate* may now act as *Salomon* (a type of *Christ*) doth act, 1 *King.* 2. 26. 27. *Salomon* thrust out *Abiathar* from being *Priest* unto *Iehovah*.

Peace. Some object that *Abiathar* was a man of death, ver. 26. worthy to die, as having followed *Adonijah*; and therefore *Salomon* executed no more then *Civill justice* upon him.

Truth. *Salomon* remits the *Civill* punishment, and

David immediately inspired by the *Spirit* of God, in his ordering of *Church* matters.

Salomon's deposing *Abiathar* (1 *Kings* 2. 26. 27.) discussed.

Salomon his putting

Abiathar
from the
Priest-
hood, ex-
amined.

inflicts upon him a *spirituall*, but by what *right*, but as he was *King* of the *Church*, a figure of *Christ*?

Abiathar his Life is spared with respect to his former good service in following after *David*; but yet he is turned out from the Priesthood.

A case put
upon oc-
casion of
Abiathars
case.

But now put the case: suppose that any of the Officers of the *New-England Churches* should prove false to the *State*, and be discovered joyning with a *French Monsieur*, or *Spanish Don*, (thirsting after *conquest* and *dominion*) to further their *invasions* of that Countrey; yet for some former faithfull service to the State, he should not be adjudged to Civill punishment: I aske now, might their *Governours* or their *Generall Court* (their *Parliament*) depose such a man, a *Pastour*, *Teacher*, or *Elder*, from his holy Calling or office in *Gods House*?

Another
case.

Or suppose in a *partiall* and *corrupt* State, a *Member* or *Officer* of a *Church* should escape with his life upon the commission of *murther*, ought not a *Church* of *Christ* upon *repentance* to receive him? I suppose it will not be said that he ought to *execute* himselfe; or that the *Church* may use a *Civill sword* against him. In these cases may such persons (spar'd in *civill* punishments for some reason of, or by partialitie of State) be punished spirituallly by the *Civill Magistrate*, as *Abiathar* was? Let the very Enemies of *Zion* be Judges.

Secondly, If *Salomon* in thrusting out of *Abiathar* was a *patterne* and *president* unto all *Civill Magistrates*, why not also in putting *Zadok* in his roome, *ver. 35*. But against this the *Pope*, the *Bishops*, the *Presbyterians*, and the *Independents* will all cry out against

such a practice in their severall respective *claimes* and *challenges* for their *Ministries*.

We find the *Libertie* of the *subjects* of *Christ* in the choice of an [195] *Apostle*, *Act*. 1. of a *Deacon*, *Act*. 6. of *Elders*, *Act*. 14. and guided by the *assistance* either of the *Apostles* or *Evangelists*, 1 *Tim*. 1. *Tit*. 1. without the least influence of any *civill Magistrate*, which shewes the *beauty* of their *liberty*.

The liberties of Christs Churches in the choice of their officers.

The *Parliaments* of *England* have by right free choice of their *Speaker*, yet some *Princes* have thus farre beene gratified as to nominate, yea and implicitly to commend a *Speaker* to them.¹ *Wise men* have seene the evill *consequences* of those *influences* (though but in *civill* things) how much farre greater and stronger are those *inares*, when the golden *Keyes* of the *Sonne* of *God* are delivered into the hands of *civill Authority*?

A civill influence dangerous to the Saints liberties.

Peace. You know the noise raised concerning those famous *acts* of *Afa*, *Hezekiab*, *Iehosaphat*, *Iosiah*. What thinke you of the Fast proclaimed by *Iehosaphat*? 2. *Chron*. 20. 3.

Truth. I finde it to be the duty of *Kings* and all in *authority*, to incourage *Christs Messengers* of *Truth* proclaiming *Repentance*, &c.

But under the *Gospel* to enforce all *naturall* and *unregenerate* people to *acts* of *worship*, what president hath *Christ Iesus* given us?

First, tis true *Iehosaphat* proclaimed a *Fast*, &c. *Jehosa-*

¹ "As soon as his majesty [Charles I.] had resolved upon the calling of a Parliament, he considered of a fit speaker (the election of whom in all times had

been by the designation of the King.)" Clarendon, *History of Rebellion*, vi: 281, App. D.

phats fast
examined. but was he not in matters *spirituall* a type of *Christ*,
the true *King of Israel*?

Secondly, *Iehosaphat* calls the members of the true
Church to *Church* service and *worship* of *God*.

If civill
powers
may in-
joyne the
time of
the Chur-
ches wor-
ship, they
may also
forbid her
times. But consider, if *civill Powers* now may judge of
and determine the actions of *worship* proper to the
Saints: If they may appoint the time of the *Churches*
worship, Fasting and Prayer, &c. why may they not
as wel forbid those times which a *Church of Christ*
shall make choice of, seeing it is a branch of the same
Root to forbid what liketh not, as well as to injoyne
what pleaseth?

And if in those most solemne *duties* and *exercises*,
why not also in other ordinary *meetings* and *worships*?
And if so, where is the power of the *Lord Iesus*
bequeathed to his *Ministers* and *Churches*, of which
the *power* of those *Kings* was but a shadow?

CHAP. CXVIII.

Peace. **T**He liberty of the *Subject* sounds most sweet,
London and *Oxford* both professë to fight
for it: How much infinitely more sweet is that true
foule *liberty* according to *Christ Iesus*?

God will
not wrong
Cæsar, and
Cæsar
should not
wrong
God. I know you would not take from *Cæsar* ought,
although it were [196] to give to *God*: And what is
Gods and his *peoples* I wish that *Cæsar* may not take.
Yet for the satisfaction of some, be pleased to glance
upon *Iosiah* his famous *Acts* in the *Church of God*
concerning the *worship* of *God*, the *Priests*, *Levites*,
and their *Services*, compelling the people to keepe
the *Passëover*, making himselfe a *covenant* before the

Lord, and compelling all that were found in *Ierusalem* and *Benjamin* to stand to it.

Truth. To these famous practices of *Iofiah* I shall parallell the practices of Englands Kings: and first *de jure*, a word or two of their right: then *de facto*, discusse what hath been done.

First, *de jure*: *Iofiah* was a precious branch of that Royall Root King *David*, who was immediately designed by God: and when the golden linkes of the Royall chaine broke in the usurpations of the Romane Conquerour, it pleased the most wise God to send a Sonne of *David*, a Sonne of God, to beginne againe that Royall Line, to sit upon the Throne of his Father *David*, *Luc.* 1. 32. *Acts* 2. 30.

It is not so with the Gentile Princes, Rulers and Magistrates, (whether *Monarchicall*, *Aristocraticall*, or *Democraticall*) who (though government in generall be from God, yet) receive their *callings*, *power* and *authority*, (both *Kings* and *Parliaments*) mediately from the people.

Secondly, *Iofiah* and those *Kings* were *Kings* and *Governours* over the then true and onely Church of God *Nationall*, brought into the *Covenant* of God in *Abraham*, and so downward: and they might well be forced to stand to that *Covenant* into which with such immediate signes and miracles they had beene brought.

But what Commission from *Christ Iesus* had *Henry* the eight, *Edward* the 6. or any (*Iofiah* like) to force the many hundred thousands of *English* men and women, without such immediate *signes* and *miracles* that *Israel* had to enter into an holy and spirituall

The famous acts of *Iofiah* examined.

Magistracy in generall from God, the particular formes from the people.

Israel confirmed in a Nationall Covenant by revelations,

signes, and miracles, but so not England. *Covenant* with the invifible *God*, the *Father* of *Spirits*, or upon paine of death (as in *Iofiahs* time) to *stand* to that which they never made, nor before *Evangelicall Repentance* are poffibly capable of.

Henry 8. Now fecondly *de facto*, let it be well remembred the firft head and governour of the Church of England. concerning the Kings of *England* profefling *Reformation*. The *foundation* of all was laid in *Henry* the 8. The *Pope* chalengeth to be the *Vicar* of *Chrift Iefus* here upon earth, to have power of reforming the Church, redreffing abufes, &c. *Henry* 8. falls out with the *Pope*, and chalengeth [197] that very power to himfelf of which he had deſpoiled the *Pope*, as appeares by that *Aét* of *Parliament* eſtabliſhing *Henry* 8. the ſupreme *Head* and *Governour* in all caſes *Eccleſiaſticall*,¹ &c. It pleaſed the moſt *Highb God* to plague the *Pope* by *Henry* the 8. his means: but neither *Pope* nor *King* can ever prove ſuch power from *Chrift* derived to either of them.

The wonderfull formings and re- Secondly, (as before intimated) let us view the Workes and *Aéts* of *Englands* imitation of *Iofiahs* practice. *Henry* the 7. leaves *England* under the

¹ "Be it enacted by authority of this preſent Parliament, that the King our Sovereign Lord, his heirs and ſucceſſors, Kings of this realm, ſhall be taken, accepted and reputed the only ſupreme Head in earth of the Church of England, &c."

The *Aét* of Supremacy is quoted in full by Froude, *Hiſt. of England*, ii: 324, who adds: "Conſiderable ſarcaſm has been levelled at the aſſumption by Henry of his title; and on the acceſſion of Elizabeth, the crown, while reclaiming the authority, thought it prudent to re-

tire from the designation. Yet it answered a purpoſe in marking the nature of the revolution, and the emphasis of the name carried home the change into the mind of the country. It was the epitome of all the meaſures which had been paſſed againſt the encroachments of the ſpiritual powers within and without the realm; it was at once the ſymbol of the independence of England, and the declaration that thenceforth the civil magiſtrate was ſupreme within the Engliſh dominions over church as well as ſtate."

flavish bondage of the *Popes* yoake. *Henry* the 8. ^{formings of Religion by} reformes all *England* to a new fashon, halfe *Papish*, halfe *Protestant*. *King Edward* the 6. turnes about the Wheele of the *State*, and workes the whole Land to absolute *Protestanisme*. ^{Kings.} *Queene Mary* succeeding to the Helme, steeres a direct contrary course, breakes in peeces all that *Edward* wrought, and brings forth an old *edition* of *Englands Reformation* all *Papish*. *Mary* not living out halfe her dayes (as the Prophet ^{Kings and States} speakes of bloody persons) *Elizabeth* (like *Ioseph*) ^{often plant and often} advanced from the Prison to the *Palace*, and from the *irons* to the *Crowne*, she pluckes up all her sister ^{pluck up Religions.} *Maries* plants, and founds a *Trumpet* all *Protestant*.

What sober man stands not amazed at these *Revolutions*? and yet like Mother like Daughter: and how zealous are we their off-spring for another *impression* and better *edition* of a *Nationall Canaan* (in imitation of *Iudab* and *Iosiah*) which if attained, who knowes how soone succeeding *Kings* or *Parliaments* will quite pull downe and abrogate?¹

Thirdly, in all these *formings* and *reformings*, a ^{A Nation-} *Nationall Church* of *naturall* unregenerate men was ^{all Church} (like wax) the subject matter of all these formes and ^{ever sub-} *changes*, whether *Papish* or *Protestant*: concerning ^{ject to} which *Nationall State* the time is yet to come when ^{turne and} ever the Lord *Iesus* hath given a word of *institution* ^{returne,} and appointment. ^{&c.}

¹ The Westminster Assembly was then in session. The Solemn League and Covenant was subscribed Sept. 25, 1643, not long after Williams's arrival in England. The Directory of Public Worship which was established by an ordinance of Parliament, dated January 3,

1644-6, was already in preparation while *The Bloody Tenent* was going to press, the committee having it in charge being appointed Oct. 17, 1643. Neal, *Hist. of Puritans*, i: 495. Events soon justified the author's anticipations of its short continuance, and of another revolution.

CHAP. CXIX.

A woman
Papissa or
head of the
Church.

Peace. You bring to minde (deare *Truth*) a plea of some wiser *Papists* for the *Popes* *supremacy*, viz. that it was no such exorbitant or unheard of power and *jurisdiction* which the *Pope* chalenged, but the very same which a *Woman*, *Queene Elizabeth* her selfe chalenged, stiling her *Papissa*, or *she Pope*: withall pleading that in point of *Reason* it was far more suitable that the Lord *Jesus* [198] delegate his power rather to a *Clergie man* then a *Lay man*, as *Henry* the 8. or a woman, as his daughter *Elizabeth*.

The *Pa-*
pists neer-
er to the
Truth con-
cerning
the gov-
ernment
of the
Church
then most
Protes-
tants.

Truth. I beleewe that neither one nor t'other hit the white,¹ yet I beleewe the *Papists* arrowes fall the nearest to it in this particular, viz. That the government of the *Church* of *Christ* should rather belong to such as professe a *Ministry* or *Office* Spirituall, then to such as are meerly *Temporall* and *Civill*.

So that in conclusion, the whole *controversie* concerning the government of *Christs* *Kingdome* or *Church*, will be found to lye between the true and false *Ministry*, both chalenging the true *commission*, *power* and *keyes* from *Christ*.

The
Kingly
power of
the Lord
Jesus trou-
bles all the
Kings and
Rulers

Peace. This all glorious *diadem* of the *Kingly* power of the Lord *Jesus* hath beene the eye-sore of the *World*, and that which the *Kings* and *Rulers* of the *World* have alwayes lift up their hands unto.

The first report of a new *King* of the *Jewes* puts *Herod* and all *Jerusalem* into *frights*; and the power

¹ The centre of the butt in archery was formerly painted white.

“’Twas I won the wager, though you hit the white.” Shakespeare, *Taming of the Shrew*, v. 5.

of this most glorious *King of Kings* over the *Soules* ^{of the} and *Consciences* of men, or over their *lives* and *wor-* ^{World.} *ships*, is still the *white* that all the *Princes* of this *World* shoot at, and are enraged at the tidings of the *true Heire* the *Lord Jesus* in his servants.

Truth. You well minde (deare *Peace*) a twofold ^{A twofold} exaltation of the *Lord Jesus*, one in the *Soules* and ^{exaltation} *Spirits* of men, and so he is exalted by all that truly ^{of Christ.} love him, though yet remaining in *Babels captivity*, and before they hearken to the voyce of the *Lord*, Come forth of *Babel* my people.

A second *exaltation* of *Christ Jesus* upon the *Throne* of *David* his *Father* in his *Church* and *Congregation*, which is his *Spirituall Kingdome* here below.

I confesse there is a tumultuous *rage* at his *entrance* ^{The world} into his *Throne* in the *Soule* and *Consciences* of any of ^{stormeth} his chosen; but against his second *exaltation* in his ^{at both.} true *Kingly power* and *government*, either *Monarchi-* *call* in himself, or *Ministeriall* in the hands of his *Ministers* and *Churches*, are mustred up and shall be in the *battels* of *Christ* yet to be *fought*, all the *powers* of the *gates* of *Earth* and *Hell*.

But I shall mention one difference more between ^{A fourth} the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, and all other *Kings* ^{difference.} and *Rulers* of the *Gentiles*. ^{Kings of} ^{Israel}

Those *Kings* as *Kings* of *Israel* were all invested ^{types.} with a *typicall* and figurative respect, with which now no *Civill* power in the *World* can be invested.

199] They wore a double *Crowne*, First, *Civill*: ^{They} Secondly, *Spirituall*, in which respect they typed out ^{wore a} the *Spirituall King* of *Israel*, *Christ Jesus*. ^{double} ^{Crown.}

When I say they were *types*, I make them not in

all respect so to be, but as *Kings* and *Governours* over the Church and Kingdome of *God*, therein types.

The
Saviours
of the
Jewes,
figures
of the
Saviour
of the
World.

Hence all those *Saviours* and *Deliverers*, which it pleased *God* to stirre up extraordinarily to his people, *Gideon*, *Baruc*, *Samson*, &c. in that respect of their being *Saviours*, *Judges*, and *Deliverers* of *Gods* people, so were they types of *Iesus Christ*, either *Monarchically* ruling by himself immediately, or *Ministerially* by such whom he pleaseth to send to *vindicate* the *liberties* and *inheritances* of his people.

CHAP. CXX.

Peace. IT must needs be confest that since the *Kings* of *Israel* were ceremonially anointed with Oile: and

Secondly, in that they sat upon the Throne of *David* (which is expressly applied to *Christ Iesus*, *Luc.* 1. 32. *Acts* 2. 30. *Iohn* 1. 49.) their Crownes were figurative and ceremoniall: but some here question whether or no they were not types of *civill Powers* and *Rulers* now, when *Kings* and *Queens* shall be nursing Fathers and nursing Mothers, &c.

The Mon-
archicall
and Min-
isteriall
power of
Christ.

Truth. For answer unto such, let them first remember that the dispute lyes not concerning the *Monarchicall* power of the *Lord Iesus*, the power of making *Lawes*, and making *Ordinances* to his Saints and Subjects: But concerning a deputed and Ministeriall power, and this distinction the very *Pope* himself acknowledgeth.

3 Great
Competi-

There are three great Competitours for this deputed or Ministeriall power of the *Lord Iesus*.

First, the *Arch-vicar* or *Sathan*, the pretended ^{tours for} *Vicar* of *Christ* on *Earth*, who sits as *God* over the ^{the Min-} *Temple* of *God*, exalting himselfe not only above all ^{isteriall} that is called *God*, but over the *soules* and *consciencs* ^{power of} of all his *vassalls*, yea over the *Spirit* of *Christ*, over ^{Christ.} the holy *Scriptures*, yea and *God* himselfe, *Dan.* 8. ^{The Popes} & 11 chap. & *Rev.* 15. together with 2 *Thes.* 2. ^{great pre-} ^{tenders for} ^{the Minis-} ^{teriall}

This pretender although he professeth to claime ^{power of} but the Ministeriall power of *Christ*, to declare his ^{Christ.} Ordinances, to preach, baptise, [200] ordaine Min- ^{They also} isters, and yet doth he upon the point challenge the ^{upon the} Monarchicall or absolute power also, being full of ^{point chal-} selfe exalting and blaspheming, *Dan.* 7. 25. & 11. ^{enge the} 36. *Rev.* 13. 6. speaking blasphemies against the *God* of *Heaven*, thinking to change times and *Lawes*: but he is the sonne of perdition arising out of the bottomlesse pit, and comes to destruction, *Revel.* 17. ^{Monarch-} for so hath the Lord *Jesus* decreed to consume him ^{icall also.} by the breath of his mouth, 2 *Thes.* 2.

The second great Competitour to this Crowne of ^{The sec-} the Lord *Jesus* is the Civill Magistrate, whether ^{ond great} Emperours, Kings, or other inferiour Officers of ^{pretender} State who are made to beleve by the false Prophets ^{the Civill} of the World that they are the Antitypes of the Kings ^{Magistrate} of *Israel* and *Judah*, and weare the Crowne of *Christ*.

Under the wing of the Civill Magistrate doe three ^{3 Great} great factions shelter themselves, and mutually oppose ^{factions} each other, striving as for life, who shall sit downe ^{challeng-} under the shadow of that Arme of *Flesh*. ^{ing an} ^{Arme of} ^{Flesh.}

First, the *Prelacie*, who (though some extravagants ^{1. The} of late have inclined to wave the *King*, and to creepe ^{Prelacie.} under the wings of the *Pope*, yet) so far depends upon

the *King*, that it is justly said they are the *Kings Bishops*.

2. The
Presby-
terie.

The Pope
and Pres-
byterie
make use
of the
Civill
Magistrate
but as of
an Execu-
tioner.

Secondly, the *Presbyterie*, who (though in truth they ascribe not so much to the *civill Magistrate* as some too grossely do, yet they) give so much to the *civill Magistrate* as to make him absolutely the Head of the Church: For, if they make him the Reformer of the Church, the Suppressour of Schismatics and Hereticks, the Protectour and defendour of the Church, &c. what is this in true plain English but to make him the Judge of the true and false Church, Judge of what is *truth*, and what *errour*; who is Schismaticall, who Hereticall, unlesse they make him only an *Executioner*, as the *Pope* doth in his punishing of Hereticks?

I doubt not but the Aristocraticall government of Presbyterians may well subsist in a Monarchie (not only regulated but also tyrannicall) yet doth it more naturally delight in the element of an Aristocraticall government of State, and so may properly be said to be (as the Prelates, the Kings so these) the States Bishops.

3. Inde-
pendents.

The Inde-
pendents:
who come
neereſt to
the Biſh-
ops.

The third, though not so great, yet growing faction is that (so called) Independent: I prejudice not the personall worth of any of the three sorts: This latter (as I beleeve this Discourse hath [201] manifested) jumpes with the *Prelates*, and (though not more fully, yet) more explicitly then the Presbyterians cast down the *Crowne* of the *Lord Jesus* at the feet of the *Civill Magistrate*: And although they pretend to receive their *Ministrie* from the choice of 2 or 3 private *persons* in *Church-covenant*, yet would

they faine perfwade the Mother *Old England* to imitate her Daughter *New England's* practice, viz. to keep out the *Presbyterians*, and only to embrace themselves, both as the *States* and the *Peoples* Bishops.¹

The third *competition* for this *Crown* and *power* of the *Lord Jesus* is of those that *separate* both from one and t'other, yet divided also amongst themselves into many severall *professions*. The third competition, of those that separate.

¹ This picture of the religious parties of that time is somewhat more unfavorable to the Independents than the judgment which history has passed upon them. Williams judged them from his own advanced point of view, and perhaps justly, as holding essentially the same view of the power of the civil magistrate with the Presbyterians, and only competing with them for the possession of that power. The open connection between them and the persons in New England who had sent him into exile, and whose views he knew so well, might have led him to think that there was little to choose between the two. His judgment he evidently rests on those views of the New England ministers which he is here controverting,—“as I believe this discourse hath manifested.” The Presbyterians in their discussion with the Independents in the Westminster Assembly, while trying to settle some scheme of accommodation for tender consciences, say in the paper presented December 25, 1645, “As for such a toleration as our brethren desire, we apprehend it will open a door to all sects; and though the Independents, now plead for it, their brethren in New England do not allow it.” Neal, *Hist. of Puritans*, ii: 17.

But it is evident from their language that the Presbyterians understood, or at

least wished to make it appear, that the Independents were seeking for a toleration which would cover more than themselves. “They plead for an accommodation to other sects as well as to themselves,” said Robert Baylie, describing the discussion with the Independents in the Committee for Accommodation. *Letters*, ii: 172. They at least were bitter enough against any sort of indulgence. The Scottish Parliament wrote (Feb. 3, 1645-6) to Westminster that “it was persuaded That the Piety and Wisdom of the Honourable Houses will never admit Toleration of any Sects or Schisms contrary to our Solemn and Sacred Covenant.” Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, vi: 234. Edmund Calamy said to Parliament, in a sermon in 1644, “If you do not labor according to your duty and power to suppress the errors thereby that are spread in the Kingdom, all those errors are your errors, and those heresies are your heresies. You are the Anabaptists, you are the Antinomians, and 'tis you that hold that all religions are to be tolerated.” Crosby, *Hist. of Baptists*, i: 176.

Baylie hated the Independents with all the vigor of a good hater, but it was because he hated their doctrines. In the preface to a Sermon before the House of Lords in 1645, he says: “It is more, at

Of these, they that goe furthest, profess they must yet come neerer to the wayes of the Son of *God*: And doubtlesse, so farre as they have gone, they bid the *most*, and make the *fairest* plea for the *puritye* and *power* of *Christ Jesus*, let the rest of the Inhabitants of the World be Judges.

Their
neerer con-
formitie to
Christ.

The
Churches
of the Sep-
eration
ought in
Humanity
and
Subjects
Libertie
not to be
oppressed,
but (at
least) per-
mitted.

Let all the former well be viewed in their external State, pomp, riches, conformitie to the World, &c. And on the other side, let the latter be considered, in their more through departure from *sinne* and *sinfull Worship*, their condescending (generally) to the lowest and meanest *contentments* of this *life*, their exposing of themselves for *Christ* to greater sufferings, and their desiring no Civill sword nor Arme of Flesh, but the two-edged sword of Gods Spirit to try out the matter by: and then let the Inhabitants of the World judge, which come neereest to the doctrine, holines, povertie, patience and practice of the Lord Jesus Christ; and whether or no these later deserve not so much of Humanity, and the Subjects Libertie, as (not offending the Civill State) in the freedome of their Soules, to enjoy the common aire to breath in.

least not less, unlawful for a Christian State to give any liberty or toleration to errors, than to set up, in every city or parish of their dominions, bordels for uncleanness, stages for plays and lifts for duels. That so much extolled Inde-

pendency wherein many religious souls for the time do wander, is the chief hand that opened at first, and keepeth open to this day, the door to all the other errors that plague us." Quoted by Palfrey, *Hist. of New England*, ii: 89.

CHAP. CXX.¹

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, you have shewne me a little draught of Zions sorrowes, her children tearing out their mothers bowels: O when will Hee that stablisheth, comforteth, and builds up Zion, looke downe from Heaven, and have mercy on her? &c.

Truth. The Vision yet doth tarry (saith *Habacuk*) but will most [202] surely come: and therefore the patient and believing must wait for it.

But to your last Proposition, whether the Kings of Israel and Judah were not types of Civill Magistrates? now I suppose by what hath been already spoken, these things will be evident.

First, that those former *types* of the *Land*, of the *People*, of their *Worships*, were *types* and *figures* of a *spirituall Land*, *spirituall People*, and *spirituall Worship* under *Christ*. Therefore consequently, their *Saviours*, *Redeemers*, *Deliverers*, *Judges*, *Kings*, must also have their *spirituall Antitypes*, and so consequently not *civill* but *spirituall Governours* and *Rulers*; lest the very *essential nature* of *Types*, *Figures* and *Shadows* be overthrowe.

Secondly, although the Magistrate by a Civill sword might well compell that Nationall Church to the externall exercise of their Naturall Worship: yet it is not possible (according to the rule of the New Testament) to compell whole Nations to true Repentance and Regeneration, without which (so farre as

7 Reasons
proving
that the
Kings of
Israel and
Judah can-
not have
any other
but a Spir-
ituall An-
titype.
Civill
Types and
figures
must needs
be answer-
ed by Spir-
ituall An-
titypes.
Civill com-
pulsion
was prop-
er in the
Nationall
Church
of the

¹ By misprint there are two chapters numbered alike.

Jewes, but most improper in the Christian, which is not Nationall. may be discerned true) the Worship and holy Name of God is prophaned and blaſphemed.

An Arme of Flesh, and Sword of Steele cannot reach to cut the darknesſe of the Mind, the hardnesſe and unbeleeſe of the Heart, and kindly operate upon the Soules affections to forſake a long continued Fathers worship, and to imbrace a new, though the beſt and trueſt. This worke performes alone that ſword out of the mouth of Chriſt, with two edges, *Rev.* 1. & 3.

Neither Chriſt Jeſus nor his Meſſengers have made the Civill Magiſtrate Iſraels Antitype, but the contrary. Thirdly, we have not one tittle in the New Teſtament of *Chriſt Jeſus* concerning ſuch a *parallel*, neither from *Himſelfe*, nor from his *Ministers*, with whom he converſed fourty dayes after his *Reſurrection*, inſtructing them in the matters of his *Kingdome*, *Acts* 1.

Neither find we any ſuch *commiſſion* or *direction* given to the *Civill Magiſtrate* to this purpoſe, nor to the *Saints* for their *ſubmiſſion* in matters ſpirituall, but the contrary, *Acts* 4. & 5. 1 *Cor.* 7. 23. *Coloſſ.* 2. 18.

Civill Magiſtracie essentially civill and the ſame in all parts of the World Fourthly, we have formerly viewed¹ the very nature and eſſence of a *Civill Magiſtrate*, and find it the ſame in all parts of the *World*, where ever people live upon the face of the *Earth*, agreeing together in *Townes*, *Cities*, *Provinces*, *Kingdomes*: I ſay the ſame eſſentially Civill, both from, 1. the *riſe* and *fountaine* whence it [203] ſprings, to wit, the *peoples* choice and free conſent. 2. The Object of it, viz. the *common-weale* or *ſafety* of ſuch a *people* in their *bodies* and *goods*, as the *Authours* of this *Modell* have themſelves confeſſed.

¹ Chap. xcii.

This *civill* Nature of the *Magistrate* we have proved to receive no *addition* of *power* from the *Magistrates* being a *Christian*, no more then it receives *diminution* from his not being a *Christian*: even as the *Common-weale* is a true *Common-weale*, although it have not heard of *Christianitie*; and *Christianitie* professed in it (as in *Pergamus*, *Ephesus*, &c.) makes it ne're no more a *Commonweale*, and *Christianitie* taken away, and the *candlestick* removed, makes it ne're the lesse a *Commonweale*.

Fifthly, the *Spirit of God* expressely relates the worke of the *civill Magistrate* under the *Gospel*, Rom. 13. expressely mentioning (as the *Magistrates* object) the duties of the *second Table*, concerning the *bodies* and *goods* of the *subject*.

2. The *reward* or *wages* which people owe for such a worke, to wit, (not the *contribution* of the *Church* for any *spirituall* work, but) *tribute*, *toll*, *custome* which are *wages* payable by all sorts of men, *Natives* and *Forreigners*, who enjoy the same benefit of *publick peace* and *commerce* in the *Nation*.

Sixthly, Since the *civill Magistrate*, whether *Kings* or *Parliaments*, *States*, and *Governours*, can receive no more in *justice* then what the *People* give, and are therefore but the *eyes* and *hands* and *instruments* of the people (simply considered, without respect to this or that *Religion*) it must inevitably follow (as formerly I have touched) that if *Magistrates* have received their power from the *people*, then the greatest number of the people of every Land have received from *Christ Iesus* a power to *establish*, *correct*, *reforme* his *Saints* and *servants*, his *wife* and *spowse*, the

Christianitie adds not to the nature of a Civill Commonweale, nor doth want of Christianitie diminish it.

Rom. 13. evidently proves the Civill work and wages of the Civill Magistrate

Most strange, yet most true consequences from the Civill Magistrate now being the Antitype

of the
Kings of
Israel and
Judah.

Church: And she that by the expresse word of the Lord (*Psal.* 149.) binds *Kings* in *chaines*, and *Nobles* in *links* of *iron*, must her selfe be subject to the changeable pleasures of the people of the *World* (which lies in *wickednesse*, 1 *Iohn* 5.) even in matters of Heavenly and *spirituall* Nature.

Hence therefore in all controversies concerning the Church, Ministrie and worship, the last Appeale must come to the Bar of the People or Commonweal, where all may personally meet, as in some Commonweales of small number, or in greater by their Representatives.

If no Re-
ligion but
that which
the Com-
monweal
approves
the no
Christ, no
God, but
at the
pleasure of
this world
2. Ep. Jo.
9.

204] Hence then no person esteemed a beleever, and added to the Church.

No Officer chosen and ordained.

No person cast forth and excommunicated, but as the Commonweale and people please, and in conclusion, no Church of Christ in this Land or World, and consequently no visibly Christ the Head of it. Yea yet higher, consequently no God in the World worshipped according to the institutions of Christ Jesus, except the severall peoples of the Nations of the World shall give allowance.

Peace. Deare Truth, Oh whither have our Forefathers and teachers led us? higher then to God himselfe (by these doctrines driven out of the World) you cannot rise: and yet so high must the inevitable and undeniable consequences of these their doctrines reach, if men walke by their owne common Principles.

The true
antitype

Truth. I may therefore here seasonably adde a seventh, which is a necessary consequence of all the

former *Arguments*, and an *Argument* it selfe: viz. we finde expressely a spirituall power of *Christ Jesus* in the hands of his *Saints*, *Ministers* and *Churches*, to bee the true *Antitype* of those former figures in all the *Prophecies* concerning *Christ* his spirituall power, Isa. 9. Dan. 7. Mich. 4. &c. compared with Luc. 1. 32. Act. 2. 30. 1 Cor. 5. Math. 18. Marc. 13. 34. &c.

CHAP. CXXI.

Peace. **G**Lorious and conquering Truth, mee thinkes I see most evidently thy glorious conquests: how mighty are thy spirituall weapons (2 Cor. 10.) to breake downe those mighty and strong Holds and Castles, which men have fortified themselves withall against thee? O that even the thoughts of men may submit and bow downe to the captivity of *Jesus Christ*!

Truth. Your kinde incouragement makes mee proceed more cheerfully to a fourth difference from the Lawes and Statutes of this Land, different from all the Lawes and Statutes of the World, and parallel'd onely by the Lawes and Ordinances of spirituall Israel.

First then consider we the *Law-maker*, or rather the *Law-publisher* or *Prophet*, as *Moses* calls himselfe, *Deut.* 18. and *Act.* 3. he is [205] expressely called that Prophet who figured out *Christ Jesus* who was to come, like unto *Moses*, greater then *Moses*, as the son is greater then the servant.

Such *Law-givers* or *Law-publishers* never had any *State* or *People* as *Moses* the type, or *Christ Jesus*,

of the
Kings of
Israel and
Judah.

A fourth
difference
of Lawes
and Stat-
utes from
all others.

Moses a
type of
Christ.

miraculously stirred up and sent as the mouth of *God* betweene *God* and his people.

The
Lawes of
Israel un-
parallel'd.

Secondly, concerning the *Lawes* themselves: It is true, the second *Table* contains the *Law* of *Nature*, the *Law* *Morall* and *Civill*, yet such a *Law* was also given to this people as never to any people in the *World*: such was the *Law* of *worship*, *Psal.* 147. peculiarly given to *Jacob*, and *God* did not deale so with other *Nations*: which *Lawes* for the matter of the *worship* in all those wonderfull significant *Sacrifices*, and for the manner by such a *Priesthood*, such a place of *Tabernacle*, and afterward of *Temple*, such times and *solemnities* of *Festivals*, were never to be parallel'd by any other *Nation*, but onely by the true *Christian Israel* established by *Iesus Christ* amongst *Jewes* and *Gentiles* throughout the *World*.

Gods
owne fin-
ger penn'd
Lawes for
Israel.

Thirdly, the *Law* of the tenne Words (*Deut.* 10.) the *Epitome* of all the rest, it pleased the most high *God* to frame and pen twice with his owne most holy and dreadfull *finger* upon *Mount Sinai*, which he never did to any other *Nation* before or since, but onely to that spirituall *Israel*, the *people* and *Church* of *God*, in whose hearts of *flesh* he writes his *Lawes*, according to *Jer.* 31. *Heb.* 8. and 10.

Peace. Such *promulgation* of such *Lawes*, by such a *Prophet*, must needs be *matchlesse* and *unparallel'd*.

Fift differ-
ence Tem-
porall prof-
perity most
proper to
the tempo-
rall Na-
tionall

Truth. In the fift place consider we the *punishments* and *rewards* annexed to the *breach* or *observation* of these *Lawes*.

First, those which were of a *temporall* and present consideration of this *life*: *Blessings* and *Curses* of all sorts opened at large, *Levit.* 26. and *Deut.* 28. which

cannot possibly be made good in any *State, Countrey* State of the Jewes. or *Kingdome*, but in a *spirituall* sence in the *Church* and *Kingdome of Christ*.

The reason is this, such a temporall *prosperity* of The outward *peace* and *plenty* of all things, of *increase* of spirituall *children*, of *cattell*, of *honour*, of *health*, of *successè*, of prosperity *victory*, suits not temporally with the afflicted and of Gods persecuted estate of *Gods people* now: And therefore people, *spirituall* and soule *blessefulness* must be the Antitype, now, the *viz.* In the midst of *revilings*, and all manner of evill antitype. *speeches* for *Christs* sake, soule *blessefulness*. In the midst of *afflictions* and *persecutions*, soule *blessefulness*, 206] *Math. 5.* and *Luc. 6.* And yet herein the *Israel* of God should enjoy their spirituall peace, *Gal. 6. 16.*

Out of that blessed *temporall estate* to be cast or What caried *captive*, was their *excommunication* or casting Israels ex- out of *Gods sight*, 2 *King. 17. 23.* Therefore was communi- the *blasphemer*, the *false Prophet*, the *idolater*, to bee cation cast out or cut off from this *holy Land*: which *pun-* was. *ishment* cannot be parallel'd by the punishment of any *State* or *Kingdome* in the *world*, but onely by the *excommunicating* or outcasting of *person* or *Church* from the fellowship of the *Saints* and *Churches* of *Christ Jesus* in the *Gospel*.

And therefore (as before I have noted) the putting The cor- away of the false *prophet*, by stoning him to *death*, porall ston- *Deut. 13.* is fitly answered (and that in the very same ing in the words) in the *Antitype*, when by the generall *consent* Law, or *stoning* of the whole *Assembly*, any *wicked person* is typed out *put away* from amongst them, that is, *spiritually cut* spirituall *off* out of the *Land* of the *spiritually living*, the *people* or *Church* of *God*, 1 *Cor. 5. Galat. 5.* stoning in the Gos- pell.

The re-
wards or
punish-
ments of
the Lawes
of Israel
not to be
parallel'd.

Lastly, the great and high *reward* or *punishment* of the keeping or breach of these Lawes to Israel, was such as cannot suit with any State or Kingdome in *World* beside: the *Reward* of the *Observation* was *Life, Eternall Life*. The *Breach* of any one of these *Lawes* was *death, Eternall death* or *damnation* from the presence of the Lord. So *Rom. 10. Iam. 2*. Such a *Covenant God* made not before nor since with any State or People in the world. For, *Christ* is the *end* of the *Law* for *righteousnesse* to every one that beleeveth, *Rom. 10. 4*. And he that beleeveth in that Son of *God*, hath eternall life; hee that beleeveth not hath not life, but is condemned already, *John 3. and 1 John 5*.

CHAP. CXXII.

The wars
of Israel
typicall.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, you have most lively set forth the *unparallel'd* state of that *typicall Land* and people of the Iewes in their *peace* and quiet government: Let mee now request you in the last place to glance at the *difference* of the *wars* of this people from the *wars* of other *Nations*, and of their having no *Antitype* but the *Churches* of *Christ Iesus*.

Israels
Enemies
round
about.

[*Truth.*] First, all *Nations* round about *Israel* more or lesse, sometime or other, had indignation against this people, *Aegyptians, Edomites, [207] Moabites, Ammonites, Midians, Philistians, Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, &c. as appeares in the History of *Moses, Samuel, Iudges* and *Kings*, and in all the *Prophets*: You have an expresse Catalogue of them, *Psal. 83*. sometimes many

hundred thousand Enemies in pitch field against them: of *Ethiopians* ten hundred thousand at once in the dayes of *Afa*, 2 Chron. 14. and at other times as the sand upon the Sea shoare.

Such Enemies the *Lord Iesus* foretold his *Israel*, ^{The Enemies of mysticall Israel.} The *World* shall hate you, *Iohn* 16. You shall be hated of all men for my Names sake, *Matth.* 24. All that will live godly in *Christ Iesus* must be persecuted or hunted, 1 *Tim.* 4. And not only by *flesh* and *bloud*, but also by *Principalities*, Powers, Spirituall wickednesse in high places (*Ephes.* 6.) by the whole *Pagan World* under the *Roman Emperours*, and the whole *Antichristian World* under the *Roman Popes*, Rev. 12. & 13. Chap. by the *Kings* of the *Earth*, Rev. 17. And *Gog* and *Magog*, like the sand upon the Sea shoare (*Rev.* 20.)

Peace. Such *Enemies*, such *Armies*, no History, no experience proves ever to have come against one poore *Nation* as against *Israel* in the *type*; and never was nor shall be knowne to come against any State or Country now, but the *Israel* of God the *Spirituall Jewes*, *Christs* true followers in all parts and quarters of the *World*.

[*Truth.*] Beside all these without, *Israel* is betraied ^{Enemies against Israel in her owne bowells.} within her owne bowells, bloudy *Sauls*, *Abfaloms*, *Shebaes*, *Adonijabs*, *Ieroboams*, *Athaliabs* raising *insurrections*, *conspiracies*, *tumults*, in the *Antitype*, and *Parallell*[,] the *Spirituall* state of the *Christian Church*.

Secondly, consider we the famous and wonderfull *battells*, *viétories*, *captivities*, *deliverances*, which it pleased the *God* of *Israel* to dispence to that people and *Nation*, and let us search if they can be paralleld

by any State or people, but mystically and Spiritually the true *Christian Israel* of *God*, Gal. 6.

The famous typically captivities of the Jews.

How famous was the bondage and slavery of that people and Nation 430 yeares in the Land of *Ægypt*, and as famous, glorious and miraculous was their *returne* through the *Red Sea* (a figure of *Baptisme*, 1 Corinth. 10. and *Ægypt* a figure of an *Ægypt* now, Rev. 11. 8 ?)

How famous was the 70 yeares *captivity* of the *Iewes* in *Babel* transported from that Land of *Canaan*, and at the full period returned againe to *Ierusalem*, a type of the *captivity* of *Gods* people [208] now Spiritually captivated in mysticall *Babel*, Rev. 18. 4 ?

Their wonderfull victories.

Time would faile me to speake of *Ioshua's* conquest of literall *Canaan*, the slaughter of 31 Kings, of the miraculous taking of *Iericho* and other Cities; *Gideon* his miraculous battell against the *Midianites*; *Ionathan* and his Armour bearer against the *Philistims*; *David* by his 5 smooth stones against *Goliath*; *Asha*, *Iehosaphat*, *Hezechiah*, their mighty and miraculous *victories* against so many hundred thousand Enemies, and that sometimes without a blow given.

What State, what Kingdome, what warres and combats, victories and deliverances can parallel this people, but the Spirituall and mysticall *Israel* of *God* in every *Nation* and *Country* of the *World*, typed out by that small typically handfull, in that little spot of ground the land of *Canaan* ?

The mysticall battells of Gods Israel now.

The *Israel* of *God* now, men and women, fight under the Great *Lord Generall*, the *Lord Iesus Christ*: Their *Weapons*, *Armour*, and *Artillery*, is like themselves *Spirituall*, set forth from *top* to *toe*, Ephes. 6.

So mighty and so potent that they breake downe the strongest *holds* and *Castles*, yea in the very soules of men and carry into *captivity* the very thoughts of men, subjecting them to *Christ Iesus*: They are Spirituall *conquerours*, as in all the 7 Churches of *Asia*, He that overcommeth: He that overcommeth, *Rev.* 2. & 3.

Their *victories* and *conquests* in this are contrary to those of this *World*, for when they are slaine and slaughtered, yet then they conquer: So overcame they the *Divell* in the *Roman Emperours*, *Rev.* 12. By the *bloud* of the *Lambe*: 2. By the *word* of their *Testimony*: 3. The cheerfull spilling of their owne *bloud* for *Christ*; for they loved not their lives unto the death: And in all this they are *more* then *Conquerors* through him that loved them, *Rom.* 8.

This glorious *Armie* of *white Troopers*, horses and harnessse (*Christ Iesus* and his true *Israel*) *Rev.* 19. gloriously conquer and overcome the *Beast*, the false *Prophet* and the *Kings* of the Earth up in Armes against them, *Rev.* 19. and lastly, raiging with *Christ* a thousand yeares they conquer the *Divell* himselfe and the numberlesse *Armies* (like the sand on the Sea shoare) of *Gog* and *Magog*, and yet not a tittle of mention of any *sword*, *helmet*, *breastplate*, *shield* or *horse*, but what is *Spirituall* and of a *heavenly nature*: All which Warres of *Israel* have been, may be, and shall be fulfilled mystically and Spiritually.

209] I could further insist on other particulars of *Israels* unparalled state, and might display those excellent passages which it pleaseth *God* to mention, *Nebem.* 9.

The mysticall
Army of
white
troopers
R. 19.

CHAP. CXXIII.

Peace. **Y**OU have (deare *Truth*) as in a glasse presented the face of *Old* and *New Israel*, and as in water, face answereth to face, so doth the face of typicall *Israel* to the face of the *Antitype*, between whom, and not between *Canaan* and the *Civill Nations* and Countries of the *World* now, there is an admirable consent and harmony: But I have heard some say, was not the *civill state* and *Judicialls* of that people presidentiall?

Whether
the Civill
state of
Israel was
presiden-
tiall.

Truth. I have in part, and might further discover, that from the *King* upon his *Throne*, to the very *Beasts*, yea the *excrements* of their *bodies* (as we see in their going to War, *Deut.* 23. 12.) their *civills*, *morralls*, and *naturalls* were carried on in types: and however I acknowledge that what was simply *morrall*, *civill*, and *naturall* in *Israels state*, in their *constitutions*, *Lawes*, *punishments*, may be imitated and followed by the *States*, *Countries*, *Cities* and *Kingdomes* of the *World*: Yet who can question the *lawfulnessse* of other formes of *Government*, *Lawes* and *punishments* which differ, since *civill constitutions* are mens *Ordinances* (or creation, 2 *Pet.* 2. 13.) unto which *Gods* people are commanded even for the *Lords* sake to submit themselves, which if they were unlawfull they ought not to do?

Peace. Having thus far proceeded in examining whether God hath charged the Civill State with the establishing of the Spirituall and Religious, what conceive you of that next assertion, *viz.* “It is well “knowne that the remissenes of Princes in Christen-

“dome in matters of Religion and Worship, divolv-
 “ing the care thereof only to the Clergie, and so
 “setting their Hornes upon the Churches head, hath
 “been the cause of Antichristian invention, usurpa-
 “tion and corruption in the Worship and Temple of
 “God.

Truth. It is lamentably come to passe by Gods just
 permission, Sathans policie, the peoples sinne, and the
 malice of the wicked against Christ, and the corruption
 of Princes and Magistrates, that so many inventions,
 usurpations, and corruptions are risen in the Worship
 and Temple of God throughout that part of the World
 which is called Christian, and may most properly be
 called the Popes Christendome, [210] in opposition to
 Christ Jesus his true Christian Commonweale, or Church
 the true Christendome: But that this hath arisen from
 Princes remissenesse in not keeping their watch, to
 establish the Purity of Religion, Doctrine and Wor-
 ship, and to punish (according to Israels patterne) all
 false Ministers, by rooting them and their worships
 out of the World, that, I say, can never bee evinced;
 and the many thousands of glorious Soules under the
 Altar, (whose blood hath beene spilt by this position)
 and the many hundred thousand foules, driven out of
 their bodies by Civill Warres, and the many millions
 of soules forced to hypocrisie and ruine eternall, by
 enforced Vniformities in Worship, will to all Eternity
 proclaime the contrary.

Indeed it shewes a most injurious idlenes and unfaith-
 fulnes in such as professe to be Messengers of Christ
 Jesus, to cast the heaviest weight of their care upon
 the Kings and Rulers of the Earth, yea, upon the very

The true
 Christen-
 dome.

Great un-
 faithfulness
 in
 Ministers
 to cast the

chiefest
burden of
judging
and estab-
lishing true
Christian-
ity upon
the Com-
monweal
or world
it selfe.

Common-weales, Bodies of People, (that is, the World it selfe) who have fundamentally in themselves the Root of Power, to set up what Government and Governours they shall agree upon.

Secondly, it shewes abundance of carnall *diffidence* and distrust of the glorious *power* and gracious *presence* of the *Lord Jesus*, who hath given his *promise* and Word, to bee with such his *messengers* to the end of the *world*, Matth. 28.

That *Dog* that feares to meet a man in the path, runnes on with boldnes at his masters comming and *presence* at his backe.

To gover-
ne &
judge in
civill af-
fares load
enough on
the Civill
Magistrate

Thirdly, what imprudence and *indiscretion* is it in the most common affaires of Life, to conceive that *Emperours, Kings and Rulers* of the earth must not only be qualified with *politicall* and *state abilities* to *make* and *execute* such *Civill Lawes* which may concerne the common *rights, peace* and *safety* (which is worke and businesse, load and burthen enough for the ablest shoulders in the *Commonweal*) but also furnished with such *spirituall* and heavenly *abilities* to governe the *Spirituall* and *Christian Commonweale*, the *flocke* and *Church of Christ*, to *pull downe*, and *set up Religion*, to *judge, determine* and *punish* in *Spirituall controversies*, even to *death* or *banishment*: And beside, that not only the severall sorts of *civill Officers* (which the people shall choose and set up) must be so authorised, but that all respective *Commonweales* or *Bodies* of people are charged (much more) by *God* with this *worke* and *busines*, radically and fundamentally, because all true *civill Magistrates*, have not the least *inch* of *civill power*, but what is measured out to them from

Magif-
trates can
have no
more pow-
er then the
common
consent of
the people
shall be-
trust them
with.

the free consent of the [211] *whole*: even as a *Committee* of *Parliament*, cannot further act then the power of the *House* shall arme and enable them.

Concerning that Objection which may arise from the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, who were borne members of *Gods Church*, and trained up therein all their dayes, (which thousands of lawfull *Magistrates* in the *world*, possibly borne and bred in false *Worships*, *Pagan* or *Antichristian*, never heard of) and were therein *types* of the great anointed, the *King of Israel*, I have spoken sufficiently to such as have an eare to heare: and therefore

Lastly, so unsutable is the commixing and intangling of the *Civill* with the *Spirituall* charge and *Government*, that (except it was for subsistence, as we see in *Paul* and *Barnabas*, working with their owne hands) the Lord *Jesus*, and his *Apostles*, kept themselves to one: If ever any in this world was able to manage both the *Spirituall* and *Civill*, Church and *Commonweale*, it was the Lord *Jesus*, (wisedome it selfe:) Yea hee was the true Heire to the Crowne of *Israel*, being the Sonne of *David*: yet being sought for by the people to be made a King, *Joh. 5.* he refused, and would not give a president to any King, Prince, or Ruler, to manage both swords, and to assume the charge of both Tables.

Now concerning Princes, I desire it may be remembered, who were most injurious and dangerous to Christianity, whether *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Julian*, &c. *Persecuters*, or *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, &c. who assumed this Power and *Authority*, in and over the *Church* in *Spirituall* things: It is confessed by the

Thousands of lawfull Magistrates who never heare of the true church of God.

The Spirituall and Civill Sword can not be managed by one and the same person.

The Lord Jesus refused to manage both.

Nero and the persecuting Emperours not so injurious to Christianity, as Con-

stantine
and others
who as-
sumed a
power in
Spiritual
things.
Under
Constantine
Christianity
fell
into cor-
ruption,
and Chris-
tians fell
asleep.

Answerer and others of note, that under these later, the Church, the Christian State, Religion, and Worship, were most corrupted: under *Constantine*, *Christians* fell asleepe on the beds of carnall ease and Liberty: insomuch that some apply to his times, that sleepe of the *Church*, Cant. 5. 2. I sleep though mine heart waketh.¹

CHAP. CXXIV.

Peace. **Y**Ea, but some will say, this was not through their assuming of this power, but the ill managing of it.

Truth. Yet are they commonly brought as the great *Presidents* for all succeeding Princes and Rulers in after Ages: and in this very controvesie, their practices are brought as presidentiall to establish *persecution* for conscience.

¹ A Brief Exposition of the whole Book of Canticles, or, Song of Solomon; Live-ly describing the Estate of the Church in all the Ages thereof, &c. &c. Written by that Learned and Godly Divine *John Cotton*, etc. London. 1642.

"This Song contains the estate of the Church, as well in the worst as best times." p. 7. "This booke was chiefly penned to bee an historicall prophecie or propheticall history." p. 10. Following this application of it, chap. 4, ver. 16. *Let my beloved come into his garden, and eat of his pleasant fruits*, he explains: "Let *Constantine* come to them, and par-

take of the benefits of the Churches serviceable graces to God and him." Proceeding, he continues the application in chap. 5. "*Constantine* came into the Church, enjoyed the fellowship of it, did partake in all the parts of it, yea and richly endowed it; so that the Church and all her friends did eat and drinke, yea and did drink abundantly of wealth, preferments, &c. whence it was that shee fell into a deepe sleepe. ver. 2. to chap. 6. ver. 4. Now followeth the description of the Church from Constantines time to the time of the restoring of the Gospell." pp. 139, 141.

212] Secondly, those *Emperours* and other *Princes* and *Magistrates* acted in *Religion* according to their *consciences* perswasion, (and beyond the light and perswasion of *conscience* can no man living walk in any feare of God.) Hence have they forced their *subjects* to *uniformitie* and *conformitie* unto their own *consciences* (what ever they were) though not willing to have been forced themselves in the matters of *God* and *Conscience*.

Who force the consciences of others, yet are not willing to be forced themselves.

Thirdly, Had not the *light* of their *eye* of *conscience*, and the *consciences* also of their *Teachers* been darkened, they could not have been condemned for want of heavenly *affection*, rare *devotion*, wonderfull care and *diligence*, propounding to themselves the best *patternes* of the *Kings* of *Judah*, *David*, *Salomon*, *Asa*, *Jehosaphat*, *Josiah*, *Hezekiah*: But here they lost the *path*, and *themselves*, in perswading *themselves* to be the *parallels* and *antytipes* to those *figurative* and *typicall* *Princes*: whence they conceived themselves bound to make their *Cities*, *Kingdomes*, *Empires* new holy lands of *Canaan*, and themselves *Governours* and *Judges* in *spirituall* causes, compelling all *consciences* to *Christ*, and persecuting the contrary with fire and sword.

Constantine and others wanted not so much affection as information of conscience

Upon these *rootes*, how was, how is it possible but that such *bitter fruits* should grow of *corruption* of *Christianitie*, *Persecution* (of such *godly*, who happily see more of *Christ* then such *Rulers* themselves) their *Dominions* and *Jurisdiccions* being overwhelmed with inforced *disimulation* and *hypocrisie*, and (where power of *resistance*) with flames of *civill combustion*, as at this very day, he that *runs* may *read* and tremble at.

Sad consequences of charging the Civill powers with the care of Spiritualls.

Peace. They adde further, that the *Princes* of *Christendome* setting their *Hornes* upon the *Churches* head, have been the cause of *Antichristian inventions*, &c.

Truth. If they mean that the *Princes* of *Europe* giving their power and *authoritie* to the *seven-headed* and *ten-horned Beast* of *Rome*, have been the cause, &c. I confesse it to be one concurring cause: yet withall it must be remembred, that even before such *Princes* set their *hornes* or *authoritie* upon the *Beasts* head, even when they did (as I may say) but *lend* their *hornes* to the *Bishops*, even then rose up many *Antichristian abominations*. And though I confesse there is but small difference (in some respect) betweene the *setting* their *hornes* upon the *Priests* heads (whereby they are inabled immediately to push and gore who-ever crosse their *doctrine* and *practice*) [213] and the *lending* of their *hornes*, that is, *pushing* and *goring* such themselves, as are declared by their *Bishops* and *Priests* to be *hereticall*, as was and is practised in some *Countries* before and since the *Pope* rose: yet I confidently affirme, that neither the *Lord Jesus* nor his first ordained *Ministers* and *Churches* (gathered by such *Ministers*) did ever weare, or crave the helpe of such *hornes* in *Spirituell* and *Christian* affaires: The *spirituall power* of the *Lord Jesus* in the hands of his true *Ministers* and *Churches* (according to *Balaams* prophesie *Num.* 23.) is the *horne* of that *Unicorne* or *Rhinocerot* (*Psal.* 92.) which is the strongest *horne* in the *world*, in comparison of which the strongest *hornes* of the *Bulls* of *Basan* breake as *sticks* and *reeds*. *Historie* tells us how that *Unicorne* or one-horned *Beast* the *Rhinocerot*, tooke up a *Bull* like a *Tennis ball*, in

Civill
Rulers
giving and
lending
their
Horns or
Authority
to Bishops,
both dan-
gerous to
the truth
of Christ.

The Spirituall power of the Lord Jesus compared in Scripture to the incomparable horne of

the *Theater* at *Rome* before the *Emperour*, according to that record of the *Poet* :¹ the Rhinocerot.

Quantus erat cornu cui pila Taurus erat ?

Unto this Spirituall power of the Lord *Jesus*, the *soules* and *thoughts* of the highest *Kings* and *Emperours* must [be] subject, *Math.* 16. & 18. 1 *Cor.* 5. & 10. chapters.

CHAP. CXXV.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, You know the noyse is made from those *prophecies*, *Isa.* 46. *Kings* and *Queenes* shall be nurfing *Fathers*, &c. and *Revel.* 21. the *Kings* of the *Earth* shall bring their *Glory* and *Honour* to new *Jerusalem*, &c.

Truth. I answer with that mournfull *Prophet*, *Pfal.* A time when
74. I see not that man, that *Prophet*, that can tell us Gods people are
how long. How many excellent *Pen-men* fight each wholly at a losse for
against other with their *pens* (like *swords*) in the Gods worship.
application of those *prophecies* of *David*, *Isa*, *Jer.*
Ezekiel, *Daniel*, *Zacharie*, *John*, when and how those
Prophecies shall be fulfilled !

Secondly, When ever those *prophecies* are fulfilled, Nurfing
yet shall those *Kings* not be *Heads*, *Governours*, and fathers

¹ *Martial, De Spectaculis Libellus, Ep. ix.*

Has fought the battles, he had not declar'd.

Præstitit exhibitus tota tibi, Cæsar, arena,

How did his headlong rage the pit appall !

Quæ non promisit, prælia rhinoceros.

O quam terribiles exarsit pronus in iras !

How flasht the horn, that made a bull a ball !

Quantus erat cornu, cui pila taurus erat !
He, who with armed nostril wildly
glar'd,

Transl. of James Elphinston.

and mothers.

Judges in Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall causes, but be themselves judged and ruled (if within the Church) by the power of the Lord Jesus therein. Hence saith *Isaiab*, those Kings and Queenes shall lick the Dust of thy feet, &c.

214] *Peace*. Some will here aske, What may the Magistrate then lawfully doe with his Civill horne or power in matters of Religion?

The Civill horne or power being of a humane constitution cannot but be of a humane operation.

Truth. His horne not being the horne of that *Unicorne* or *Rhinocerot*, the power of the Lord Jesus in *Spirituall cases*, his sword not the *two-edged sword* of the *Spirit*, the word of *God* (hanging not about the *loines* or *side*, but at the *lips*, and proceeding out of the *mouth* of his *Ministers*) but of an humane and Civill nature and constitution, it must consequently be of a humane and Civill operation, for who knowes not that operation followes constitution? and therefore I shall end this passage with this consideration:

The Civill power owes 3 things to the true Church of Christ.

The *Civill Magistrate* either respecteth that *Religion* and *Worship* which his *conscience* is perswaded is true, and upon which he ventures his Soule: or else that and those which he is perswaded are *false*.

Concerning the first, if that which the *Magistrate* believeth to be true, be true, I say he owes a three-fold dutie unto it:

1. Approbation.

First, *approbation* and *countenance*, a reverent esteeme and honorable *Testimonie*, according to *Isa. 49. Revel. 21.*) with a tender respect of *Truth*, and the *professours* of it.

2. Submission.

Secondly, *Personall submission* of his owne Soule to the power of the Lord Jesus in that *spirituall Government* and *Kingdome*, according to *Mat. 18. 1 Cor. 5*

Thirdly, *Protection* of such true *professours* of *Christ*,^{3.} *Protec-*
whether apart, or met together, as also of their *estates*^{tion.}
from violence and injurie, according to *Rom.* 13.

Now secondly, if it be a false *Religion* (unto which
the *Civill Magistrate* dare not adjoyne, yet) he owes,^{The Civill Magistrate}

First, *permission* (for *approbation* he owes not to
what is evill) and this according to *Matthew* 13. 30.^{owes to false wor-}
for publike peace and quiet sake.^{shippers.}

Secondly he owes *protection* to the persons of his
Subjects, (though of a false *worship*) that no injurie^{1. Permiss-}
be offered either to the persons or goods of any,^{tion.}
Rom. 13.^{2. Protec-}

Peace. Deare *Truth*, in this 11 head concerning
the *Magistrates* power in *Worship*, you have examined
what is affirmed: that the *Magistrate* may doe in
point of *Worship*, there remaines a second; to wit,
that which they say the *Magistrate* may not doe in
Worship.

215] They say, "The *Magistrate* may not bring in
"set formes of prayer: Nor secondly, bring in *signifi-*
"cant ceremonies: Nor thirdly, not governe and rule
"the acts of worship in the Church of God, for which
"they bring an excellent similitude of a Prince or
"Magistrate in a ship, where he hath no governing
"power over the actions of the mariners: and sec-
"ondly, that excellent prophecie concerning *Christ*
"Jesus, that his government should be upon his shoul-
"ders, *Isa.* 9. 6, 7.

Truth. Unto all this I willingly subscribe: Yet can^{The Civill}
I not passe by a most injurious and unequall practice^{Magis-}
toward the *Civill Magistrate*: Ceremonies, Holy dayes,^{trates con-}
Common Prayer, and what ever else dislikes their con-^{science}
torned and

¹ The colon should follow the subsequent word "worship."

distracted
between
the divers
and con-
trary af-
firmations
even of
the most
godly Re-
formers.

sciences, that the *Magistrate* must not bring in: Others againe as learned, as godly, as wise, have conceived the *Magistrate* may approve or permit these in the *Church*, and all men are bound in obedience to obey him. How shal the *Magistrates conscience* be herein (between both) torn and distracted, if indeed the power either of *establisbing* or *abolishing* in *Church* matters bee committed to him?

The Au-
thors of
these po-
sitions deal
with the
Civill
Magistrate
as the sould-
iers dealt
with the
Lord
Jesus.

Secondly, me thinkes in this case they deale with the *Civill Magistrate* as the Souldiers dealt with the *Lord Jesus*: First they take off his owne clothes, and put upon him a *purple Robe*, plat a *Crowne of Thornes* on his head, bow the knee, and salute him by the name of *King of the Jewes*.

They tell him that he is the *Keeper* of both *Tables*, he must see the *Church* doe her duty, he must establishe the true *Church*, true *Ministry*, true *Ordinances*, he must keepe her in this purity. Againe, hee must abolish *superstition*, and punish false *Churches*, false *Ministers*, even to *banishment*, and *death*.

The rise
of high
Commis-
sions. &c.

Thus indeed doe they make the blood run downe the head of the *civill Magistrate*, from the *thorny* vexation of that *power* which sometimes they crowne him with (whence in great *States*, *Kingdoms* or *Monarchies*, necessarily arise *delegations* of that *spirituall power*, *High Commissions*¹) &c.

¹ The High Commission sprang from the Act of Supremacy passed in the first year of Queen Elizabeth. Burnet says, (*Hist. of Reformation*, ii: 599.) "The power that was added for the Queen's commissionating some to execute her supremacy gave the rise to that Court, which was commonly called the High

Commission Court." Hallam (*Constitutional History*, i: 272, note.) says, "The germ of the high commission court seems to have been a commission granted by Mary (Feb. 1557) to certain bishops and others to inquire after all heresies, punish persons misbehaving at church, &c. Burnet, ii: 347. But the primary model

Anon againe they take off this purple robe, put him into his own clothes, and tell him that he hath no power to command what is against their *conscience*. They cannot conforme to a *set form* of prayer, nor to *Ceremonies*, nor *Holy dayes*, &c. although the *civill Magistrate* (that most pious *Prince Edw. 6.* and his famous *Bishops* (afterwards burnt for Christ) were of another *conscience*: which of these two *consciences* shall stand, if either *Magistrate* must put forth his *civill* [216] *power* in these cases, the strongest *arme* of *flesh* and most conquering bloody *sword* of Steele can alone decide the Question.

I confesse it is most true, that no *Magistrate* (as no other superiour) is to be obeyed in any matter displeasing to *God*: yet, when in matters of *worship* we ascribe the absolute *headship* and *government* to the *Magistrate*, (as to keepe the *Church* pure, and force her to her duty, *Ministers* and *People*) and yet take unto our selves power to *judge* what is right in our owne eyes, and to judge the *Magistrate* in and for those very things, wherein we confesse he hath power to see us doe our duty, and therefore consequently must *judge* what our duty is: what is this but to play with *Magistrates*, with the *soules* of men, with *Heaven*, with *God*, with *Christ Iesus*? &c.

was the inquisition itself." Lingard says, (*History of England*, viii: 88, note,) "Whoever will compare the powers given to this tribunal with those of the inquisition, which Philip II. endeav-

oured to establish in the Low Countries, will find that the chief difference between the two courts consisted in their names." It was abolished in 1641. Clarendon, *Hist. of Rebellion*, i: 412.

Pious Magistrates and Ministers consciences are persuaded for that, which other Magistrates consciences condemn.

To professe the Magistrate must force the Church to her duty and yet must not judge what that is, what is it but to play in Spirituall things?

CHAP. CXXVI.

An apt
similitude
discussed
concern-
ing the
Civill
Magif-
trate.

Peace. **P**asse on (holy *Truth*) to that *similitude* where-
by they illustrate that *Negative Assertion* :
“The Prince in the Ship (say they) is *governour* over
“the bodies of all in the Ship, but hee hath no power
“to governe the *Ship* or the *Mariners* in the *Actions*
“of it : If the *Pilot* manifestly erre in his *Action*, the
“*Prince* may reprove him, (and so say they may any
“*passenger*) if hee offend against the *life* or *goods* of
“any, the *Prince* may in due time and place punish
“him, which no private person may.

Truth. Although (deare *Peace*) wee both agree
that *civill powers* may not injoyne such devices, no
nor inforce on any *Gods Institutions*, since *Christ Iesus*
his comming : Yet for further *illustration* I shall pro-
pose some *Quæries* concerning the *civill Magistrates*
passing in the ship of the *Church*, wherein *Christ Iesus*
hath appointed his *Ministers* and *Officers* as *Govern-
ours* and *Pilots*, &c.

First
quærie :
what if
the Prince
command
the Mr. or
Pilot to
steere such
a course
which
they know
will never
bring
them to
the har-
bour.

If in a ship at Sea, wherein the *Governour* or *Pilot*
of a ship undertakes to carry the ship to such a Port,
the *civill Magistrate* (suppose a *King* or *Emperour*)
shall command the *Master* such and such a course, to
steere upon such or such a point, which the *Master*
knowes is not their course, and which if they steere
he shall never bring the *Ship* to that *Port* or harbour :
what shall the *Master* doe? Surely all men will say,
the *Master* of the *Ship* or *Pilot* is to present *Reasons*
and *Arguments* from his *Mariners* Art (if the Prince
bee capable of them) or else in humble and submis-
sive manner to perswade the *Prince* not to interrupt

them in their course and duty properly [217] belonging to them, to wit, governing of the *ship*, steering of the *course*, &c.

If the *Master* of the *Ship* command the *Mariners* thus and thus, in *cunning*¹ the *ship*, managing the *helme*, trimming the *saile*, and the *Prince* command the *Mariners* a different or contrary course, who is to be obeyed?

2. Quærie. If the Mr. of the Ship command the mariners thus, & the Prince command the contrary, who is to be obeyed?

It is confest that the *Mariners* may lawfully disobey the *Prince*, and obey the *governour* of the *ship* in the *actions* of the *ship*.

Thirdly, what if the *Prince* have as much skill (which is rare) as the *Pilot* himselfe? I conceive it will be answered, that the *Master* of the ship and *Pilot*, in what concernes the ship, are *chief* and above (in respect of their office) the *Prince* himselfe, and their commands ought to be attended by all the *Mariners*: unlesse it bee in manifest error, wherein tis granted any passenger may reprove the *Pilot*.

If the Prince have as much skill as the Mr. or Pilot, &c.

Fourthly, I aske if the *Prince* and his *Attendants* be unskilfull in the *ships* affaires, whether every *Sayler* and *Mariner*, the youngest and lowest, be not (so farre as concernes the ship) to be preferred before the *Princes* followers, and the *Prince* himselfe? and their *counsell* and advice more to be attended to, and their *service* more to be desired and respected, and the *Prince* to be requested to stand by and let the *businessse* alone in their hands.

4. Quærie.

¹ "The Cunning of a Ship is the Directing the Person at Helm how to steer her." Bailey, *Dictionary Britannicum*, ed. 1736.

"Cond, v. To conduct. Chaucer."

Wright, *Dict. of Obsolete and Provincial English*.

"Cunning" evidently carries the meaning of "conduct," and probably comes from "Cond."

5. *Quærie.* Fifthly, in case a wilfull *King* and his *Attendants*,
 Whether the mean- out of opinion of their *skill*, or wilfulnesse of *passion*,
 est saylor would so steere the course, trim sayle, &c. as that in
 (in respect the judgement of the *Master* and *Seamen* the ship and
 of his skill lives shall bee indangered: whether (in case humble
 and ser- perswasions prevaile not) ought not the *Ships com-*
 vice) be pany to refuse to act in such a course, yea and (in
 not to be case power be in their hands) resist and suppress
 preferred before the these dangerous *practices* of the *Prince* and his *fol-*
 Prince himself. lowers, and so save the *ship*?

6. *Quærie.* Lastly, suppose the *Master* out of base feare and
 Whether cowardise, or covetous desire of reward, shall yeeld to
 if the Mr. gratifie the minde of the *Prince*, contrary to the
 of the ship rules of Art and Experience, &c. and the ship come
 gratifie the Prince to in danger, and perish, and the *Prince* with it: if the
 the casting away of Master get to shore, whether may he not be justly
 the ship questioned, yea and suffer as guilty of the *Princes*
 and *Prince* death, and those that perished with him? These
 &c. he be cases are cleare, wherein according to this similitude,
 not guilty the *Prince* ought not to governe and rule the actions
 and liable of the ship, but such whose office and charge and
 to answer? skill it is.

The ap- 218] The result of all is this: The Church of Christ
 plication in generall is the Ship, wherein the *Prince* (if a member, for
 of the ship otherwise the case is altred) is a passenger. In this
 to the ship the Officers and Governours, such as are appointed
 Church, by the Lord *Jesus*, they are the chiefe, and (in those
 &c. respects) above the *Prince* himselfe, and are to bee
 obeyed and submitted to in their works and admin-
 istrations, even before the *Prince* himselfe.

The In this respect every Christian in the Church, man
 meanest or woman (if of more knowledge and grace of Christ)
 Christian

ought to be of higher esteeme (concerning *Religion* according to his knowledge and *Christianity*) then all the Princes in the world, who have either none or lesse *grace* or *knowledge* of and grace, *Christ*: although in *civill* things all *civill reverence*, to be preferred before the *honour* and *obedience* ought to be yeelded by all men.

Therefore, if in matters of *Religion* the *King* command what is contrary to *Christs* rule (though according to his *perswasion* and *conscience*) who sees not that (according to the similitude) he ought not to be obeyed? yea, and (in case) boldly with spirituall force and power he ought to be resisted: And if any Officer of the *Church* of *Christ* shall out of baseness yeeld to the command of the *Prince*, to the danger of the *Church*, and soules committed to his charge, the soules that perish (notwithstanding the *Princes* command) shall be laid to his charge.

If so then, I rejoyne thus: How agree these truths of this similitude with those former positions, *viz.* that the Civill Magistrate is keeper of both Tables, That he is to see the Church doe her duty, That he ought to establish the true Religion, suppress and punish the false, and so consequently must discern, judge and determine what the true gathering and governing of the *Church* is; what the *dutie* of every *Minister* of *Christ* is; what the true *Ordinances* are, and what the true *Administrations* of them; and where men faile, correct, punish, and reforme by the *Civill Sword*: I desire it may be answered in the feare and presence of him whose eyes are as a *flame* of *fire*, if this be not (according to the similitude, though contrary to their scope in proposing of it) to be *Governour* of the *Ship* of the *Church*, to see the *Master*,

A true Minister of Christ ought to walk by another rule then the command of Civill Authority in Spirituall causes.

Former positions compared with this similitude, and found to contradict each other.

Pilot, and *Mariners* do their duty, in setting the course, steering the ship, trimming the sailes, keeping the watch, &c. and where they faile, to *punish* them; and therefore by undeniable consequence, to *judge* and *determine* what their *duties* are, when they doe *right*, and when they doe *wrong*: and this not 219] only in *manifest Errour*, (for then they say every passenger may reprove) but in their *ordinary* course and practice.

The similitude of the Magistrate prescribing to the Physitian in civil things but the Physitian to the Magistrate concerning his body.

The similitude of a *Physitian* obeying the *Prince* in the *Body* politick; but prescribing to the *Prince* concerning the *Princes body*, wherein the *Prince* (unlesse the *Physitian* manifestly erre) is to be obedient to the *Physitian*, and not to be *Judge* of the *Physitian* in his *Art*, but to be ruled and judged (as touching the state of his *body*) by the *Physitian*: I say this similitude and many others suiting with the former of a *ship*, might be alleadged to prove the *distinction* of the *Civill* and *Spirituall* estate, and that according to the rule of the *Lord Jesus* in the *Gospel*, the *Civill Magistrate* is only to attend the Calling of the *Civill Magistracie*, concerning the *bodies* and *goods* of the *Subjects*, and is himselfe (if a *member* of the *Church* and within) subject to the power of the *Lord Jesus* therein, as any member of the *Church* is, 1 Cor. 5.

CHAP. CXXVII.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, you have uprightly and aptly untied the *knots* of that 11 Head, let me present you with the 12 Head, which is

Concerning the Magistrates power in the Censures of the Church.

“First (say they) he hath no power to execute or
“to substitute any Civill officer to execute any Church
“censure, under the notion of Civill or Ecclesiasti-
“call men. The 12
Head ex-
amined.

“Secondly, Though a Magistrate may immedi-
“ately Civilly censure such an offender, whose secret
“finnes are made manifest by their casting out, to be
“injurious to the good of the State; yet such offen-
“ces of excommunicate persons, which manifestly
“hurt not the good of the State, he ought not to
“proceed against them, sooner or later, untill the
“Church hath made her complaint to him, and given
“in their just Reasons for helpe from them: For to
“give libertie to Magistrates without exception to
“punish all excommunicate persons within so many
“moneths, may prove injurious to the person who
“needs, to the Church who may desire, & to God
“who calls for longer indulgence from the hands of
“thé.[them]

“Thirdly, for persons not excommunicate, the
“Magistrate hath no power immediately to censure
“such offences of Church members by the power of
“the Sword, but onely for such as doe immediately
220] “hurt the peace of the State: Because the
“proper end of Civill Government being the prefer-
“vation of the peace and welfare of the State, they
“ought not to breake downe those bounds, and so to
“censure immediately for such sins which hurt not
“their peace.

“Hence, first, Magistrates have no power to censure
“for secret finnes, as deadnesse, [or] unbeleeve, because
“they are secret, and not yet come forth immediately

“to hurt the peace of the State ; we say immediately,
 “for every sinne, even originall sinne, remotely hurts
 “the Civill State.

“Secondly, hence they have no power to censure
 “for such private sinnes in Church members, which
 “being not hainous may be best healed in a private
 “way by the Churches themselves. For that which
 “may be best healed by the Church, and yet is prof-
 “ecuted by the State, may make a deeper wound and
 “greater rent in the peace both of Church and State :
 “the Magistrates also being members of the Church,
 “are bound to the rule of Christ, *viz.* not to pro-
 “duce any thing in publike against a brother, which
 “may bee best healed in a private way.

“Now we call that private,

“First, which is only remaining in Families, not
 “knowne of others : and therefore a Magistrate to
 “heare and prosecute the complaint of children
 “against their parents, servants against masters, wives
 “against their husbands, without acquainting the
 “Church first, transgresseth the rule of Christ.

“Secondly, that which is between members of the
 “same Church or of divers Churches : for, it was a
 “double fault of the Corinthians (1 *Cor.* 6.) first to
 “goe to Law, secondly to doe it before an Infidell,
 “seeing the Church was able to judge of such kinde
 “of differences by some Arbitratours among them-
 “selves : So that the Magistrates should referre the
 “differences of Church members to private healing,
 “and try that way first : By meanes whereof the
 “Churches should be free from much scandall, and
 “the State from much trouble, and the hearts of the
 “godly from much grieve in beholding such breaches.

“Thirdly, such offences which the Conscience of
 “a Brother dealing with another privately, dares not
 “as yet publish openly, comming to the notice of the
 “Magistrate accidentally, he ought not to make pub-
 “lique as yet, nor to require the Grand Jurie to
 221] “present the same, no more then the other pri-
 “vate brother, who is dealing with him, untill hee
 “see some issue of the private way.

“Thirdly, hence they have no power to put any
 “to an oath *ex officio*, to accuse themselves, or the
 “brethren, in case either *criminis suspecti*, or *præfensi*,
 “because this preserves not, but hurts many wayes
 “the peace of the State, and abuseth the ordinance
 “of an Oath, which is ordained to end controversies,
 “not to begin them, Heb. 6. 16.

“Fourthly, hence they have no power to censure
 “any for such offences as breake either no Civill Law
 “of God, or Law of the State published according to
 “it, for the peace of the State being preserved by
 “wholesome Laws, when they are not hurt, the peace
 “is not hurt.

Truth. In this passage (as I said before) I observe
 how weakly and partially they deale with the soules
 of *Magistrates* in telling them they are the *Guardians*
 of both *Tables*, must see the *Church* doe her duty,
 punish, &c. and yet in this passage the *Elders* or *Min-*
isters of the *Churches* not only sit *Judges* over the
Magistrates actions in *Church* affaires, but in *civill*
 also, straitning and inlarging his *commission* according
 to the particular interests of their owne ends or (at
 the best) their Consciences.

I grant the *Word* of the *Lord* is the only *rule*, *light*

To give
the gov-
ernment
of the
Church to
the Civill
Magistrate
(as before)
and yet to
abridge his
conscience
what is it
but to sport
with holy
things?
&c.

and *lantborn*, in all cases concerning *God* or *Man*: and that the *Ministers* of the *Gospell* are to teach this way, hold out this *Lantborne* unto the feet of all men: but to give such an absolute power in *Spirit-uall* things to the *Civill Magistrate*, and yet after their owne ends or *Consciencs* to abridge it, is but the former sporting with holy things, and to walk in *Contradictions*, as before I noted.

Many of the particulars, I acknowledge true, where the *Magistrate* is a *Member* of the *Church*: yet some passages call for *Explication*, and some for *Observation*.

First, in that they say, the *Civill Magistrate* ought not to proceed against the offences of an *Excommunicate* person, which manifestly hurt not the good of the *state*, untill the *Church* hath made her complaint for helpe from them, I observe 2 things:

An evi-
dent con-
tradiction.

First, a cleare grant, that when the *Church* complayneth for helpe, then the *Magistrate* may punish such offences as hurt not the good of the *state*: and yet in a few lines after, they say, the *Magistrates* have no power to censure such offences of *Church* members [222] by the power of the *civill sword*, but only such, as doe immediately hurt the *peace* of the *civill state*; and they adde the *Reason*, because the

An excel-
lent con-
fession of
the proper
end of
Civill Go-
vernment.
Lawes are
not brok-
en, it is
confest

proper end of the *civill Government*, being the preservation of the *peace* and *welfare* of the *state*, they ought not to breake downe those *bounds*, and so to censure immediately for such *sinnes* which hurt not their *peace*. And in the last place, they acknowledge the *Magistrate* hath no power to punish any, for any such offences as breake no *civill Law* of *God*, or *Law* of the *state*, published according to it: For the *peace*

of the *state*, (say they) being preserved by wholesome *Lawes*, when they are not hurt, the *Peace* is not hurt. that Civill Peace is not hurt.

CHAP. CXXVIII.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, here are excellent confessions unto which both *Truth* and *Grace* may gladly assent: but what is your second Observation from hence?

Truth. I observe secondly, what a deepe charge of *weaknes* is layd upon the *Church* of *Christ*, the *Lawes*, *Government* and *Officers* thereof, and consequently upon the *Lord Jesus* himselſe: to wit, that the *Church* is not enabled with all the power of *Christ*, to censure sufficiently an *offendour* (on whom yet they have executed the *deepest censure* in the world, to wit, *cutting off from Christ*, *shutting out of Heaven*, *casting to the Divell*) which offendours crime reacheth not to hurt the good of the *civill state*, but that she is forced to make *complaint* to the *civill state*, and the *Officers* thereof, for their helpe. A grievous charge against the Christian Church, and the King of it.

O let not this be told in *Gath*, nor heard in *Ashkalon*! and O! how dimme must needs that *eye* be, which is *blood shot*, with that *bloody* and cruell *Tenent* of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*?

Peace. But what should be meant by this passage? *viz.* “That they cannot give *liberty* to the *Magistrate* “to punish without exception all *excommunicate* persons, within so many *months*.”

Truth. It may be this hath reference to a *Law* made formerly in *New England*, that if an *excom-* A strange law in New Eng-

land formerly against Ex-communicate person repented not within (as I have heard) three *months* after sentence of *excommunication*, then the *Civill Magistrate* might proceed with him.¹

¹ "It is therefore ordered, that whosoever shall stand excommunicate for the space of 6 months, without laboring what in him or her lyeth to bee restored, such person shall bee presented to the Court of Assistants, and there proceeded with by fine, imprisonment, or further, &c." *Mss. Colonial Records*, i: 242. Sept. 6, 1638. This was repealed Sept. 9, 1639. *Records*, i: 271.

Cotton was opposed to using the civil power to such extent, and, it may be, had influence in the repeal of this statute. For he says early in 1640, "It was a matter in question here not long agoe, whether the Court should not take a course to punish such persons as stood excommunicate out of the Church, if they should stand long excommunicate, but it was a good providence of God that such a thing was prevented: Let not any Court, *ipso facto*, take things from the Church." *An Exposition upon the Thirteenth Chap. of the Revelation*, p. 19. But he would not allow communication with such. "The Jews would not eat with a publican, nor should we with an excommunicate." *Way of the Churches*, p. 93. (1645.)

Francis Hutchinson, son of the famous Anne, after the family removed to Aquidneck wrote to the Church in Bolton for a letter of dismission. Cotton wrote "with the rest of the elders, in the name of the Church," declining to dismiss him "to no church," &c. He then proceeds to explain what the Teacher of the Church was reported to have said about Hutchinson's holding any connection with his mother. "For in general, he said indeed,

that with excommunicate persons no religious communion is to be held, nor any civil familiar connexion as sitting at table. But yet he did put a difference between other brethren in church fellowship, and such as were joined in natural or civil near relations, as parents and children, husband and wife, &c. God did allow them that liberty which he denies others." *Mss. Hist. Coll.*, 2d Series, x: 186.

Lechford, writing in 1641, says, "The excommunicate is held as an *Heathen and Publican*. Yet it hath been declared in *Boston* in divers cases, that children may cate with their parents excommunicate; that an elected Magistrate excommunicate may hold his place, but better another were chosen; that an hereditary Magistrate, though excommunicate, is to be obeyed still in civill things; that the excommunicate person may come and heare the Word, and be present at Prayer, so that he give not publique offence, by taking up an eminent place in the Assembly." *Plain Dealing*, p. 32.

The Synod at Cambridge in 1649 agreed as follows: "5. While the offender remains excommunicate, the church is to refrain from all member-like communion with him in spiritual things, and also from all familiar communion with him in civil things farther than the necessity of natural or domestical or civil relations do require; and are therefore to forbear to eat and drink with him, that he may be ashamed. 6. Excommunication being a spirituall punishment, it doth not prejudice the excommunicat

These *worthy men* see cause to question this *Law* ^{cate persons.} upon good *reasons* rendred, though it appears not by their words that they wholly condemne it, only they desire a longer time, implying that after [223] some longer time the Magistrate may proceed: and indeed I see not, but according to such *principles*, if the *Magistrate* himselfe should be cast out, he ought to be proceeded against by the *Civill state*, and consequently deposed and punished (as the *Pope* teacheth) ^{A dangerous doctrine against all civill Magistrates.} yea though *happily* he had not offended against either *bodies* or *goods* of any subject.

Thirdly, from this true *confession* that the *Magistrate* ought not to punish for many finnes above mentioned: I observe how they crosse the *plea* which commonly they bring for the *Magistrates* punishing of false *Doctrines*, *Heretiques*, &c. [*viz.* Rom. 13. The *Magistrate* is to punish them that doe evill:] ^{Many sins prohibited to be punished by the Magistrate and yet they also charge him to punish all sin, Rom. 13.} and when it is answered, True, evill against the *Second Table*, which is there onely spoken of, and against the *Bodies* and *Goods* of the *Subject*, which are the proper *object* of the *Civill Magistrate*, (as they confesse :) It is replied, why is not *Idolatry* sinne? *Heresie* sinne? *Schisme* and false *Worship* sinne? Yet

in, or deprive him of his *civil rights*, and therefore toucheth not Princes, or other Magistrates, in point of their civil dignity or authority." *Cambridge Platform*, xiv. p. 22.

In England till quite a recent period excommunication worked civil disqualification quite beyond any known here. "Formerly an excommunicated man was disabled to do any act that was required to be done by a *probus et legalis homo*. He could not serve upon juries, could

not be a witness in any court, and what was worst of all, could not bring an action, either real or personal, to recover lands or money due to him. But now by 53 Geo. III. C. 127, S. 3, no person who shall be pronounced excommunicate shall incur thereby any civil penalty or incapacity whatever, save such imprisonment, not exceeding six months, as the court so excommunicating such person shall pronounce." Stephen, *Commentaries*, iv: 17.

heere in this passage many *evils*, many *sinns*, even of *Parents* against their *Children*, *Masters* against their *Servants*, *Husbands* against their *Wives*, the *Magistrate* ought not to meddle with.

Originall
fin charged
to hurt re-
motely
(but false-
ly) the
civill
state.

Fourthly, I dare not assent to that assertion, "*That even originall sinne remotely hurts the civill State.*" This true, some doe, as *inclinations to murther, theft, whore-dome, slander, disobedience to Parents and Magistrates:* but *blindnes of minds, hardnes of heart, inclination to choose or worship this or that God, this or that Christ,* beside the true, these hurt not remotely the *civill state*, as not concerning it, but the *spirituall*.

Magif-
trates
strangely
forbidden
to hear
civill com-
plaints.

Peace. Let me (in the last place) remind you of their charge against the *Magistrate*, and which will necessarily turne to my wrong and prejudice: They say, the *Magistrate* in hearing and prosecuting the *complaints* of *children* against their *parents*, of *servants* against their *masters*, of *wives* against their *husbands*, without acquainting the *Church* first, transgresseth the rule of *Christ*.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, they that pretend to be thy dearest friends, will prove thy bitter enemies.

First, I ask for one *rule* out of the *Testament* of the *Lord Jesus*, to prove this deepe *charge* and accusation against the *Civill Magistrate*?

Thou-
sands of
Common-
weales
where no
true
church of
Christ.

Secondly, This is built upon a supposition of what rarely falls out in the World, to wit, that there must necessarily be a true [224] Church of Christ (in every lawfull State) unto whom these complaints must goe: whereas how many thousand Common-weales have been and are, where the name of Christ hath not (or not truly) been founded.

Thirdly, The Magistrates office (according to their own grant) properly respecting the bodies and goods of their *Subjects*, and the whole *body* of the *Commonweale* being made up of *Families* (as the *members* constituting that *body*) I see not how (according to the rule of *Christ* (*Rom.* 13.) the *Magistrate* may refuse to heare and helpe the just *complaints* of any such *petitioners*, Children, Wives, and Servants, against *oppression*, &c.

The complaints of families properly fall into the cognizance of the civill Magistrate.

Peace. I have long observed that such as have been ready to ascribe to the *Civill Magistrate* and his *Sword* more then *God* hath ascribed, have also been most ready to cut off the skirts, and (in case of his inclining to another *conscience* then their owne) to spoile him of the robe of that due *Authoritie* with which it hath pleased *God* and the *People* to invest and cloath him.

They who give to Magistrates more then is due, are most apt to disrobe them of what is theirs.

But I shall now present you with the 13. Head: whose Title is,

CHAP. CXXIX.

What power Magistrates have in publike Assemblies of Churches. 13. Head.

“**F**irst (say they) the Churches have power to assemble and continue such Assemblies for the performance of all Gods Ordinances, without or against the consent of the Magistrate, *renuente Magistrate*, because

“Christians are commanded so to doe, *Matth.* 28.
“18. 19. 20.

“Also because an Angel from God commanded
“the Apostles so to doe, *Acts* 5. 20.

“Likewise from the practice of the Apostles, who
“were not rebellious or seditious, yet they did so,
“*Act.* 4. 18. 19. 20. *Act.* 5. 27. 28.

“Further from the practice of the Primitive Church
“at Jerusalem, who did meet, preach, pray, minister
“Sacraments, censures, *Act.* 4. 23. *renuente Magistratu.*
225] “Moreover from the exhortation to the
“Hebrewes, 10. 25. not to forsake their Assemblies,
“though it were in dangerous times, and if they
“might doe this under professed Enemies, then we
“may much more under Christian Magistrates; else
“we were worse under Christian Magistrates then
“Heathen: therefore Magistrates may not hinder
“them herein, as *Pharaoh* did the people from sac-
“rifying, for Wrath will be upon the Realme, and
“the King and his Sons, *Ezra* 7. 23.

Secondly, it hath been a usurpation of forraigne
“Countries and Magistrates to take upon them to
“determine times and places of Worship: rather let
“the Churches be left herein to their inoffensive
“Libertie.

Thirdly, concerning their power of Synod Assemblies:
“First in corrupt times, the Magistrate desirous to
“make Reformation of Religion, may and should
“call those who are most fit in severall Churches, to
“assemble together in a Synod, to discusse and declare
“from the Word of God, matters of Doctrine and
“Worship, and to helpe forward the Reformation of
“the Churches [of] God: Thus did *Josiah*.

Secondly, in the reformed times he ought to give

“ Libertie to the Elders of severall Churches to assem-
“ ble themselves by their owne mutuall and voluntary
“ agreement, at convenient times, as the meanes
“ appointed by God, whereby he may mediatly
“ reform matters amisse in Churches, which imme-
“ diately he cannot nor ought not to doe.

Thirdly, Those meetings for this end we conceive
“ may be of two sorts.

“ 1. Monthly, of some of the Elders and Messen-
“ gers of the Churches.

“ 2. Annuall, of all the Messengers and Elders of
“ the Churches.

“ First monthly of some: First, those members of
“ Churches which are neereſt together, and ſo may
“ moſt conveniently aſſemble together, may by mutu-
“ all agreement once in a moneth conſult of ſuch
“ things as make for the good of the Churches.

“ Secondly, the time of this meeting may be ſome-
“ times at one place, ſometimes at another, upon the
“ Lecture day of every Church where Lectures are :
“ and let the Lecture that day be ended by eleven of
“ the clock.

226] “ Thirdly, let the end of this Aſſembly be to
“ doe nothing by way of Authoritie, but by way of
“ Councell, as the need of Churches ſhall require.

Secondly Annuall, of all the Elders within our
“ juuriſdiction or others, whereto the Churches may
“ ſend once in the yeare to conſult together for the
“ publike welfare of all the Churches.

“ First, let the place be ſometimes at one Church,
“ ſometimes at another, as Reaſons for the preſent
“ may require.

“Secondly, let all the Churches send their waighty questions and cases six weeks or a month before the set time, to the Church where the Assembly is to be held, and the Officers thereof disperse them speedily to all the Churches, that so they may have time to come prepared to the discussing of them.

“Thirdly, let this Assembly doe nothing by Authority, but only by Councell, in all cases which fall out, leaving the determination of all things to particular Churches within themselves, who are to judge, and so to receive all doctrines and directions agreeing only with the Word of God.

The grounds of these Assemblies.

“First, need of each others helpe, in regard of dayly emergent troubles, doubts, and controversies.

“Secondly, love of each others fellowship.

“Thirdly, of Gods glory out of a publike spirit to seeke the welfare of the Churches, as well as their owne, 1 *Cor.* 10. 33. 2 *Cor.* 11. 23.

Fourthly, The great blessing and speciall presence of God upon such Assemblies hitherto.

Fifthly, the good Report the Elders and Brethren of Churches shall have hereby, by whose communion of Love others shall know they are the Disciples of Christ.

CHAP. CXXX.

A strange
double
picture.

Truth. **I** May well compare this *passage* to a double *picture*: on the first part or side of it a most faire and beautifull *countenance* of the pure and holy

Word of *God*: on the later side or part, a most fowre and uncomely deformed *looke* of a meere humane invention. 227] Concerning the former, they prove the true and unquestionable *power* and *priviledge* of the *Churches* of *Christ* to assemble and practise all the holy *Ordinances* of *God*, without or against the consent of the *Magistrate*. The great priviledge of the true Spouse or Church of Christ.

Their Arguments from *Christs* and the *Angels* voyce, from the *Apostles* and *Churches* practice, I desire may take deepe *impression* written by the point of a *diamond*, the finger of *Gods spirit*, in all hearts whom it may concerne.

This *Libertie* of the *Churches* of *Christ* he enlargeth and amplifieth so far, that he calls it an *usurpation* of some *Magistrates* to determine the time and place of *Worship*: and say, that rather the *Churches* should be left to their inoffensive *libertie*.

Upon which Grant I must renew my former *Querie*, Whether this be not to walke in *contradictions*, to hold with *light*, yet walke in *darknes*? for To hold with light and walk in darknesse.

How can they say the *Magistrate* is appointed by *God* and *Christ* the *Guardian* of the *Christian Church* and *Worship*, bound to set up the true *Church*, *Ministrie* and *Ordinances*, to see the *Church* doe her duty, that is, to force her to it by the *Civill sword*: bound to suppress the false *Church*, *Ministrie* and *Ordinances*, and therefore consequently, to judge and determine which is the true *Church*, which is the false, and what is the duty of the *Church officers* and *members* of it, and what not: and yet (say they) the *Churches* must assemble, and practice all *Ordinances*, without his *consent*, yea against it: Yea and he hath The Magistrate lift up to be the chief governour of the Church, and yet cast downe

not to have power to appoint the place or time of meeting. not so much power as to *judge* what is a convenient *time* and *place* for the *Churches* to assemble in ; which if he should doe, he should be an *usurper*, and should abridge the *Church* of her inoffensive *libertie*.

As if the *Master* or *Governour* of a Ship had power to judge who were true and fit officers, mariners, &c. for the managing of the Ship, and were bound to see them each performe his duty, and to force them thereunto, and yet he should be an *usurper* if hee should abridge them of *meeting* and *managing* the *vessel* at their pleasure, when they please, and how they please, without and against his *consent* : Certainly if a *Physitian* have power to judge the *disease* of his *patient*, and what course of *Physicke* he must use, can he bee counted an *usurper* unlesse the *patient* might take what *physicke* himselfe pleased, day or night, summer or winter, at home in his chamber, or abroad in the aire ?

If a Church may assemble without and against the Magistrate's consent (as is affirmed) then much more constitute and become a Church, &c. 228] Secondly, by their *grant* in this passage that *Gods* people may thus assemble and practice *ordinances* without and against the consent of the *Magistrate* I infer, then also may they become a *Church*, constitute and gather without or against the consent of the *Magistrate* : Therefore may the *Messengers* of *Christ*, preach and baptise, that is, make *disciples* and wash them into the true profession of *Christianity* according to the *commission*, though the *Magistrate* determine and publicly declare, such *Ministers*, such *baptismes*, such *Churches* to be hereticall.

Thirdly, it may here be questioned what power is now given to the *Civill Magistrate* in *Church matters* and *Spirituall* affairs ?

If it be answered that although *Gods people* may doe thus against the *Magistrates* consent, yet others may not.

I answer (as before) who sees not herein partiality to themselves: *Gods people* must enjoy their *Liberty* of *Conscience*, and not be forced; but all the Subjects in a *Kingdome* or *Monarchie*, or the whole world beside, must be compelled by the power of the *Civill Sword* to assemble thus and thus.

Secondly, I demand who shall judge whether they are *Gods people* or no, for they say whether the *Magistrate* consent or consent not, that is judge so or not, they ought to goe on in the Ordinances *renuente Magistrate*?

How agrees this with their former and generall assertion, that the *Civill Magistrate* must set up the *Christian Church* and *Worship*, therefore by their owne grant he must judge the godly themselves, he must discern who are fit matter for the House of *God*, *living stones*, and what unfit matter, *trash* and *rubbish*?

Those *worthy men*, the *Authours* of these *positions*, and others of their *judgement* have cause to examine their soules with feare and trembling in the presence of *God* upon this *intergatory*, viz. whether or no this be not the *bottome* and *root* of the matter: If they could have the same supply of maintenance without the helpe of the *Civill Sword*, or were perswaded to live upon the voluntary *contribution* of poore Saints, or their owne *labour*, as the *Lord Jesus* and his first *Messengers* did: I say, if this lay not in the *bottom*, whether or no they could not be willingly shut of

Grosse partiality.

If the Civill Magistrate be to build the Spirituall or Christian house, he must judge of the matter.

A close and faithfull intergatory to the consciences of the authors of these positions.

the *Civill* power, and left only to their *inoffensive liberties*?

A sad
quærie to
some con-
cerning
their prac-
tice.

I could also put a sad *Quærie* to the *consciencs* of some, viz. what should be the *reason* why in their *native Country* where the *Magistrate* [229] consented not, they forbore to practice such *Ordinances* as now they doe and intended to doe, so soone as they got into another place where they might set up *Magistrates* of their owne, and a *Civill Sword*, &c. How much is it to be feared that in case their *Magistracie* should alter, or their persons be cast under a *Magistracie* prohibiting their practice, whether they would then maintaine their *separate* meetings without and against the consent of the *Magistrate*, *renuente Magistratu*?

A marvail-
ous chal-
lenge of
more Lib-
ertie to
Christians
under a
Christian
Magistrate
then under
the Hea-
then.

Lastly, it may be questioned how it comes to passe that in pleading for the *Churches liberty* more now under the *Christian Magistrate*, since the *Christians* tooke that *liberty* in dangerous times under the *Heathen*, why he quotes to prove such liberty, *Pharaohs* hindring the *Israelites* from *worship*, and *Ezra* 7. 23. *Artaxerxes* his feare of wrath upon the Realme?

Are not all their hopes and arguments built upon the *Christian Magistrate*, whom (say they) the first *Christians* wanted, and yet do they scare the *Christian Magistrate* (whom they account the *governour* of the *Church*) with *Pharaoh* and *Artaxerxes* that knew not God, expecting that the *Christian Magistrate* should act and command no more in Gods worship then they?

But what can those instances of *Pharaohs* evill in hindring the *Israelites* worshipping of God, and *Arta-*

xerxes giving liberty to *Israel* to worship *God*, and build the *Temple*, what can they prove but a duty in all *Princes* and *Civill Magistrates* to take off the yooke of *bondage*, which commonly they lay on the necks of the *soules* of their *subjects* in matters of *Conscience* and *Religion*?

CHAP. CXXXI.

Peace. IT is plausible, but not reasonable that *Gods* If Magistrates were appointed by Christ Jesus Governours of his Kingdome, it were not reasonable that Christians should more freely breake the commands of the Christian, then of the Heathen Magistrate. people should (considering the drift of these positions) expect more liberty under a *Christian* then under a *Heathen Magistrate*: Have *Gods* people more liberty to breake the command of a *Christian* then an *Heathen governour*? and so to set up *Christs Church* and *Ordinances* after their owne *conscience* against his consent more then against the consent of an *Heathen* or unbeleeving *Magistrate*? what is become of all the great expectation what a *Christian Magistrate* may and ought to doe in establishing the *Church*, in reforming the *Church*, and in punishing the contrary? 'Tis true (say [230] men) in *Christs* time and in the time of the first *Ministers* and *Churches* there were no *Christian Magistrates*, and therefore in that case, it was in vaine for *Christians* to seeke unto the *Heathen Magistrates* to governe the *Church*, suppress *Hereticks*, &c. but now we enjoy *Christian Magistrates*, &c.

Truth. All *Reason* and *Religion* would now expect more submission therefore (in matters concerning *Christ*) to a *Christian Magistrate*, then to a *Pagan* or *Antichristian* ruler! But (deare *Peace*) the day will discover, the fire will trie, 1 *Cor.* 3. what is but wood,

hay, and stubble, though built (in mens upright intention) on that foundation *Jefus Chrift*.

The necessity of Civill government in generall of God, but the speciall kindes of men, 1 Pet. 2. 13.

But (to winde up all) as it is most true that *Magistracy* in generall is of God (Rom. 13.) for the preservation of Mankinde in *civill order* and *peace*, (the *World* otherwise would bee like the *Sea*, wherein Men, like *Fishes* would hunt and devoure each other, and the greater devour the lesse :) So also it is true, that *Magistracy* in speciall for the severall kindes of it is of Man, 1. Pet. 2. 13. Now what kinde of *Magistrate* soever the people shall agree to set up, whether he receive *Christianity* before he be set in office, or whether he receive *Christianity* after, hee receives no more power of *Magistracy*, then a *Magistrate* that hath received no *Christianity*. For neither of them both can receive more, then the *Commonweal*, the *Body* of People and *civill State*, as men, communicate unto them, and betrust with them.

Civill Magistrates are derivatives from the fountaines or bodies of people.

All lawfull *Magistrates* in the World, both before the coming of *Christ Jefus*, and since, (excepting those unparaleld *typicall Magistrates* of the *Church of Israel*) are but *Derivatives* and *Agents* immediately derived and employed as *eyes* and *hands*, serving for the good of the whole: Hence they have and can have no more *Power*, then fundamentally lies in the *Bodies* or *Fountaines* themselves, which *Power*, *Might*, or *Authority*, is not *Religious*, *Christian*, &c. but naturall, humane and civill.

A beleev- ing Magistrate no more a Magistrate

And hence it is true, that a *Christian Captaine*, *Christian*, *Merchant*, *Phyfitian*, *Lawyer*, *Pilot*, *Father*, *Master*, and (so consequently) *Magistrate*, &c. is no more a *Captaine*, *Merchant*, *Phyfitian*, *Lawyer*, *Pilot*,

Father, Master, Magistrate, &c. then a Captaine, then an unbelceev-
Marchant, &c. of any other Conscience or Religion. ing.

Tis true, Christianity teacheth all these to act in The excellencie
their severall callings, to an higher ultimate end, of Christianity in
from higher principles, in a [231] more heavenly and all call-
spirituall manner, &c. ings.

CHAP. CXXXII.

Peace. O that thy *Light* and *Brightnes* (deare Truth) might shine to the darke World in this particular: let it not therefore be grievous, if I request a little further illustration of it.

Truth. In his season *God* will glorifie himselfe in all his *Truths*: but to gratifie thy desire, thus: A *Pagan* or *Antichristian Pilot* may be as skilfull to carry the Ship to its desired Port, as any *Christian Mariner* or *Pilot* in the World, and may performe that worke with as much safety and speed: yet have they not command over the *soules* and *consciences* of The
their *passengers* or *mariners* under them, although Magistrate
they may justly see to the labour of the one, and the like a Pilot
the *civill* behaviour of all in the *ship*: A *Christian Pilot* in the Ship
he performes the same worke, (as likewise doth the of the
Metaphoricall *Pilot* in the ship of the *Commonweale*.
Common-
weale.
from a principle of *knowledge* and *experience*: but Christian-
more then this, he acts from a roote of the feare of itie steeres
God and love to *mankind*, in his whole course. a Chri-
Secondly, his *aime* is more to glorifie *God* then to gaine tian Pilots
his pay, or make his voyage. Thirdly, he walkes course.
heavenly with Men, and *God*, in a constant observa-

The Christian Pilot hath no more power over the soules of his Mariners or passengers, then the unchristian or Pagan Pilot.

tion of *Gods* hand in *stormes, calmes, &c.* So that the thread of *Navigation* being equally spun by a *believing* or *unbelieving* Pilot, yet is it drawn over with the gold of *Godlines* and *Christianitie* by a *Christian* Pilot, while he is holy in all manner of *Christianitie*, 1 Pet. 1. 15. But lastly, the *Christian* Pilots power over the Soules and *consciences* of his *Sailers* and *Passengers* is not greater then that of the *Antichristian*, otherwise then he can subdue the soules of any by the two-edged sword of the *Spirit*, the Word of *God*, and by his holy demeanour in his place, &c.

Peace. I shall present you with no other consideration in this first part of the Picture, but this only :

The tearmes Heathen and Christian Magistrate.

Although the tearme *Heathen* is most commonly appropriated to the wilde naked *Americans*, &c. yet these worthy men justly apply it even to the civilized *Romanes* &c. and consequently must it be applied to the most civilized *Antichristians*, who are not the *Church* and people of *God* in *Christ*.

Truth. The Word נִרְמָה in the *Hebrew*, and ἔθνη in the *Greeke*, signifie no more then the *Gentiles* or *Nations* of the Earth, which [232] were without and not within, the true typicall nationall *Church* of the *Jewes* before *Christ*, and since his comming, the *Gentiles* or *Nations* of the *World*, who are without that one holy Nation of the *Christian* *Israel* the *Church* gathered unto *Christ* *Jesus* in particular and distinct *congregations* all the *World* over.

All out of Christ are heathens, that is of the Nations or Gentiles.

Translatours promiscuously render the words *Gentiles*, *Heathens*, *Nations*: whence it is evident that even such as professe the Name of *Christ* in an unregenerate and impenitent estate, whether *Papist* or

Protestant are yet without, that is *Heathen*, *Gentiles* or of the *Nations*.

CHAP. CXXXIII.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, it is now time to cast your eye on the second part of this *Head* or picture uncomely and deformed.

Truth. It containes two sorts of Religious meetings or assemblies.

First, more extraordinary and occasionall, for which he quotes the practice of *Josiah*.

An. *Josiah* was in the type, so are not now the severall Governours of Commonweales, *Kings* or *Governours* of the *Church* or *Israel*, whose state I have proved to be a *None-such*, and not to bee parallel'd but in the *Antitype* the particular *Church* of *Christ*, where *Christ Jesus* alone sits *King* in his owne most holy *Government*.

Josiah a
type of
Christ
Jesus the
King of
the *Church*

Secondly, they propound meetings or *assemblings* ordinarily stated and constant, yearly and monthly unto which the *civill Magistrate* should give *liberty*. For these meetings they propound plausible arguments from the necessity of them from *Christian fellowship* from *Gods glory*, from the experience of the benefit of them, and from the good report of them, as also those two Scriptures, 1 Cor. 10. 33. 2 Cor. 11. 38.

To these I answer, If they intend that the *civill Magistrate* should permit *liberty* to the free and voluntary Spirituall meetings of their Subjects, I shall subscribe unto them; but if they intend that the *Magistrate* should give *liberty* only unto themselves,

An unjust
and partiall
desire
of liberty
to some
consciences, &

bondage
unto all
others.

and not to the rest of their *subjects*, that is to desire their owne *soules* only to be free, and all other *soules* of their *subjects* to be kept in *bondage*.[:]

233] Secondly, if they intend that the *Magistrate* should inforce all the *Elders* of such *Churches* under their *Jurisdiction*, to keepe *correspondencie* with them in such meetings, then I say (as before) it is to cause him to give *Libertie* with a *partiall* hand, and *unequall Ballance*: for thus I argue: If the *Civill State* and *Civill officers* be of their *Religion* and *Conscience*, it is not proper for them to give *libertie* or *freedome*, but to give honourable *testimonie* and *approbation*, and their own personall *submission* to the *Churches*. But if the *civill State* and *Officers* be of another *conscience* and *worship*, and shall be bound to grant permission and *libertie* to them, their *consciences* and *meetings*, and not to those of his own *Religion* and *Conscience* also, how will this appeare to be equall in the very eye of Common *peace* and *righteousnesse*?

For those *yearely* and *monthly* meetings, as we find not any such in the first *Churches*; So neither will those generall *arguments* from the plausible pretence of *Christian* fellowship, *Gods* glory, &c. prove such particular wayes of *glorifying God*, without some *precept* or *president* of such a kind.

For those *Scriptures*, 1 Cor. 10. 33. & 2 Cor. 11. 38. expressing the Apostle *Paul* his zeale for glorifying *God*, and his care for all the *Churches*, it is cleere

The Com-
mission
Mat. 28.
of preach-
ing and

they concerne such as are indeed *Pauls successors*, sent forth by *Christ Jesus* to preach and gather *Churches*: but those *Scriptures* concerne not the *Churches* themselves, nor the *Pastours* of the *Churches* properly,

least of all the *Civill State* and *Commonwealth*, neither of which (the *Churches*, the *Pastours*, or *Commonwealth*) doe goe forth personally with that *commission*, *Matth.* 28. to *preach* and *baptize*, that is, to gather *Churches* unto *Christ*. baptizing not properly directed to the Churches, or fixed Teachers

For as for the first, the *Churches* are not *Ministers* of the *Gospel*: the *Angels* or *Messengers* of the *Churches*, and the *Churches* themselves were distinct, *Revel.* 2. & 3. of it, least of al to the Common-weale.

As for the second, the *pastours* and *Elders* of the *Church*, their worke is not to gather *Churches*, but to governe and feed them, *Acts* 20. & 1 *Pet.* 5. A quærie, who have now the care of

As for the *civill Magistrate*, it is a *Ministry* indeed: (*Magistrates* are Gods *Ministers*, *Rom.* 13.) but it is of another Nature, and therefore none of these, the *Churches* of *Christ*, the *Shepherds* of those *Churches*, nor the *civill Magistrate*, succeeding the *Apostles* or first *Messengers*, these Scriptures alleadged concerne not any of [234] these to have care of all the *Churches*. all the Churches?

Peace. Deare *Truth*, who can heare this Word, but will presently cry out, Who then may rightly challenge that *commission*, and that *promise*, *Math.* 28. &c.

Truth. Sweet *Peace*, in due place and season, that *Question* may be resolved; but doubtles the true *successours* must precede or goe before the *Church*, making *Disciples*, and *baptizing* as the *Apostles* did, who were neither the *Churches*, nor the *Pastours* and fixed *Teachers* of them, but as they gathered, so had the care of the *Churches*. A Miniftrie before the Church

CHAP. CXXXIV.

Peace. **I** Cease to urge this further; and, in the last place, marvell what should be the reason of that Conclusion, “viz. There is no power of determination in any of these meetings, but that all must be left to the particular determination of the Churches.”¹

Acts 15.
commonly
misapplied

Truth. At the meeting at *Jerusalem*, when *Paul* and *Barnabas* and others were sent thither from the *Church of Christ at Antioch*, the *Apostles* and *Elders* did not only *consult* and advise, but particularly *determined* the *Question* which the *Church of Antioch* sent

¹ The doctrine of the “Model” in regard to the determinative power of Councils and Synods is about the same as that laid down in the “Answer to Two and Thirty Questions &c.,” written by Richard Mather some four years later. That quotes with approbation from Ames, “The sentence of a Synod is onely a certaine enquiring and giving of sentence by way of Ministry, and with limitation; so that the decree of the Councell hath so much force as there is force in the reason of it.” Also from Junius, “The sentence of a Councell is of it selfe onely of advice, not of compulsion or constraint, and brings with it a judgement ministeriall, not authority of it selfe, nor necessity.” *Answer*, &c. p. 66.

The “Body of Liberties” drawn up by Ward of Ipswich, and adopted by the General Court in 1641, in the 95th clause, eleventh section, provides “That once in every month of the year (when the season will bear it) It shall be lawful for the Ministers and Elders of the

Churches neere adjoyneing together, with any other of the bretheren, with the consent of the churches to assemble by course in each severall Church one after an other. Provided that the whole action be guided and moderated by the Elders of the Church where the Assembly is helde, or by such others as they shall appoint. And that no thing be concluded and imposed by way of Authority from one or more churches upon an other, but onely by way of Brotherly conference and consultation.” 3 *Mss. Hist. Coll.*, viii: 235, 236.

The Cambridge Platform allows somewhat more authority to such bodies. “The Synod’s directions and determinations, so far as consonant to the Word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission: not only for their agreement therewith (which is the principal ground thereof, and without which they bind not at all) but also secondarily, for the power, whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God appointed thereunto in his word.” *Platform*, xvi: 5.

to them, about *Acts* 15. and send their particular *determinations* or *decrees* to the *Churches* afterward.

So that if these *Assemblies* were of the nature of that *pattern* or *president* (as is generally pretended) and had such a *promise* of the *assistance* and *concurrency* of the *Spirit*, as that *Assembly* had, they might then say as that *Assembly* did, *Acts* 15. *It seemeth good to the holy Spirit and to us*: and should not leave particular *determinations* to the particular *Churches*, in which sometimes are very few able *Guides* and *Leaders*.

Peace. But what should be the Reason to perswade these worthy men to conceive the *particular Congregations* or *Churches* to be more fit and competent *Judges* in such high points, then an *Assembly* of so excellent and choice persons, who must only consult and advise, &c.?

Christs
promise
and pre-
sence only
makes an
Assembly
blessed.

Truth. Doubtlesse there is a strong conviction in their Soules of a professed promised *presence* of the *Lord Jesus* in the midst of his *Church* gathered after his mind and will, more then unto such kind [235] of *Assemblies*, though consisting of far more able persons, even the *flower* and *creame* of all the *Churches*.

Peace. It is generally conceived, that the promise of *Christs presence* to the end of the World (*Matth.* 28.) is made to the *Church*.

Truth. There is doubtlesse a promise of *Christs* presence in the midst of his *Church* and *Congregation*, *Matth.* 18. but the promise of *Christs presence*, *Matth.* 28. cannot properly and immediately belong to the *Church* constituted and gathered, but to such *Ministers* or *Messengers* of *Christ Jesus*, whom he is

The pro-
mise of
Christs
presence,
Mat. 18.
distinct
from that,
Mat. 28.

pleased to imploy to gather and constitute the *Church* by *converting* and *baptizing*: unto which *Messengers* (if Christ Jesus will be pleased to send such forth) that passage, *Acts* 15. will be *presidentia*ll.

14. Position examined.

Peace. The 14. generall head is this, *viz.* What power particular *Churches* have particularly over *Magistrates*.

“First (say they) they may censure any Member “(though a Magistrate) if by sinne he deserve it.

“First, because Magistrates must be subject to “Christ, but Christ censures all offenders, 1 Cor. 5. “4. 5.

Secondly, Every Brother must be subject to Christs censure, *Mat.* 18. 15, 16, 17. But Magistrates are brethren, *Deut.* 17. 15.

Thirdly, They may censure all within the Church, 1 Cor. 5. 12.

“But the Magistrates are within the Church, for “they are either without, or within, or above the “Church: not the first, nor the last, for so Christ is “only above it.

“Fourthly, The Church hath a charge of all the “Soules of the members, and must give account “thereof, *Heb.* 13. 17.

“Fifthly, Christs censures are for the good of “Soules, 1 Cor. 5. 6. but Magistrates must not be “denied any priviledge for their Soules, for then they “must lose a priviledge of Christ by being Magistrates.

“Sixthly, In Church priviledges Christians are all “one, *Gal.* 2. 28. *Col.* 3. 11.

2. Magistrates may be censured for apparent and

“manifest sinne against any Morall Law of God, in
“their judicall proceedings, or in the execution of
“their office. Courts are not Sanctuaries for sin; and
“if for no sin, then not for such especially.

“First, because sinnes of Magistrates in Court are
“as hatefull to God. 2. And as much spoken against,
“*Isa.* 10. 1. *Mic.* 3. 1. [236] Thirdly, God hath no
“where granted such immunity to them. Fourthly,
“what a brother may doe privately in case of private
“offence, that the Church may doe publikely in case
“of publike scandall. But a private brother may
“admonish and reprove privately in case of any pri-
“vate offence, *Mat.* 18. 15. *Luc.* 19. 17. *Psal.* 141. 5.

“Lastly, Civill Magistracy doth not exempt any
“Church from faithfull watchfulnesse over any mem-
“ber, nor deprive a Church of her due power, nor a
“Church member of his due priviledge, which is to
“partake of every Ordinance of God, needfull and
“requisite to their winning and salvation. *Ergò*,

CHAP. CXXXV.

Truth. **T**Hese Arguments to prove the *Magistrate*
subject (even for sinne committed in judi-
ciall proceeding) I judge, like Mount *Zion*, immove-
able, and every true *Christian* that is a Magistrate
will judge so with mee: Yet a Quærie or two will
not be unseasonable.

First, where they name the *Church* in this whole Church
passage, whether they meane the *Church* without the administra-
Ministry or *Governours* of it, or with the *Elders* and tions are
Governours joyntly? and if the latter, why name they charged
firstly upon

the Min-
isters there
of.

not the *Governours* at all, since that in all *administrations* of the *Church* the duty lies not upon the *body* of the *Church*, but firstly and properly upon the *Elders*

It is true in case of the *Elders* obstinacy in apparent sinne, the *Church* hath power over him, having as much power to take down as to set up, *Col. 4.* Say to *Archippus*, &c. Yet in the ordinary dispensations and administrations of the *Ordinances*, the *Ministers* or *Elders* thereof are first charged with duty, &c.

The Min-
isters or
Governors
of Christs
Church to
be acknow-
ledged in
their dis-
pensations

Hence first for the *Apostles*, who converted, gathered & espoused the *Churches* to *Christ*, I question whether their *power* to *edification* was not a *power* over the *Churches*, as many *Scriptures* seem to imply.

Secondly, for the ordinary *Officers* ordained for the ordinary and constant guiding, feeding, and governing the *Church*, they were *Rulers*, *Shepherds*, *Bishops*, or *Overseers*, and to them was every *letter* and *charge*, *commendation* or *reproofe* directed, *Revel. 2. 3.* *Acts 20.* And that place by them quoted for the submission of the *Magistrates* to the *Church*, it mentions only *submission* to the *Rulers* thereof, *Heb. 13. 17.* Those excellent men concealed not this out of *ignorance*, and therefore most certainly in a silent way confesse that their *doctrine* concerning the *Magistrates*

A para-
dox, Mag-
istrates
made the
Judges
of the
Churches,
and Gov-
ernours of
them, yet

power in *Church* causes would [237] seem too grosse, if they should not have named the whole *Church*, and but silently implied the *Governours* of it: And is it not wonderfull in any sober eye, how the same persons (*Magistrates*) can be exalted over the *Ministers* and *Members*, as being bound to *establishe*, *reforme*, *suppresse* by the *civill sword* in punishing the *body* or

goods, and yet for the same actions (if the Church and Governours thereof so conceive) be liable to a punishment ten thousand times more transcendent, to wit, *excommunication*, a punishment reaching to their *soules* and *consciences*, and eternall estate, and this not only for *common* sins, but for those *actions* which immediately concerne the *execution* of their *civill* office, in *judiciall* proceeding.

Peace. The *Prelates* in *Q. Elizabeths* dayes, kept with more plainnesse to their principles, for acknowledging the *Queen* to be Supreme in all *Church causes*, (according to the Title and Power of *Henry* the 8. her Father, taken from the *Pope*, and given to him by the *Parliament*) they professed that the *Queen* was not a *sheepe*, but under *Christ* the chiefe *Shepherd*, and that the *Church* had not power to *excommunicate* the *Queen*.

Truth. Therefore (sweet *Peace*) it was esteemed *capitall* (in that faithfull *witnesse* of so much *truth* as he saw, even unto *death*, Mr. *Barrow*) to maintaine before the *Lords* of the *Councell*, that the *Queen* herselfe was subject to the power of *Christ Jesus* in the *Church*: which *Truth* overthrew that other *Tenent*, that the *Queene* should be *Head* and *Supreme* in all *Church* causes.¹

¹ Henry Barrowe was executed at Tyburn, April 6, 1593. He had been kept in close prison for many years. He studied at Cambridge and was a lawyer of Gray's Inn. He was at the head of the stricter Puritans who were called Brownists or Barrowists. Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, ii: 191.

An account of his examination with

Penry and Greenwood before the High Commissioners, "penned by the prisoners themselves, before their deaths," was printed in 1586. One of the questions was "Whither he thinketh the Queene's Majestie be supreme governour of the Church; and whither she may make lawes for the church which are not contrary to the Word of God, or no?"

Peace. Those Bishops according to their principles (though bad and false) dealt plainly (though cruelly) with Mr. *Barrow*: but these *Authors*, whose principles are the same with the *Bishops* (concerning the power of the *Magistrate* in *Church* affaires) though they wave the *Title*, and will not call them *Heads* or *Governors* (which now in lighter times seems too grosse)

Is not this too like the Popes profession of *seruus seruorum Dei*, yet holding out his slipper to the lips of Princes, Kings and Emperours?

yet give they as much *spirituall power* and *authoritie* to the *civill Magistrate* to the full, as ever the *Bishops* gave unto them, although they yet also with the same breath lay all their *honour* in the *dust*, and make them to lick the *dust* of the feet of the Churches, as it is prophesied, the *Kings* and *Queens* of the *Earth* shall doe, when Christ makes them nursing *fathers*, and nursing *mothers*, Isa. 49. The *truth* is, Christ Jesus is honoured, when the *civill Magistrate* a member of the Church, punisheth any member or *Elder* of the Church with the *civill sword*, even to the *death*, for any crime against the *civill State* so deserving it; for he beares not the sword in vain.

238] And *Christ Jesus* is againe most highly honoured, when for apparent sinne in the *Magistrate*, being a member of the Church (for otherwise they have not to meddle with him) the *Elders* with the Church, admonish him and recover his Soule, or if *obstinate* in sin, cast him forth of their *Spirituall* and *Christian* fellowship, which doubtlesse they could not doe, were the *Magistrate* *supreme Governour* under

Ans. I thinke the Queene's Majestie supreme governour of the whole land, and over the church also, bodies and goods: but I thinke that no prince, neither the whole world, neither the

church itself, may make any lawes for the church, other than Christ hath already left in his worde." *Harleian Miscellany*, iv: 348. Brook, *Lives of Puritans* ii: 30. Neal, *Hist. of Puritans*, i: 201.

Christ in *Ecclesiasticall* or *Church* causes, and so consequently the true heire and successeur of the *Apostles*.

CHAP. CXXXVI.

Peace. **T**He 15. Head runs thus: viz. In what cases ^{15. Head} must Churches proceed with Magistrates ^{examined.} in case of offence.

“We like it well, that Churches be slower in proceeding to excommunication, as of all other, so of “Civill Magistrates especially in point of their Judiciall proceedings, unlesse it be in scandalous breach “of a manifest Law of God, and that after notorious “evidence of the fact, and that after due seeking and “waiting for satisfaction in a previous Advertisement. “And though each particular Church in respect of “the Government of Christ be independent and absolute within it selfe, yet where the Commonweale “consists of Church members, it may be a point of “Christian wisdom to consider and consult with “the Court also, so far as any thing may seeme doubtful to them in the Magistrates case, w^{ch} may be “further cleared by intelligence given from them; “but otherwise we dare not leave it in the power of “any Church to forbear to proceed & agree upon “that on Earth, which they plainly see Christ hath “resolved in his Word, and will ratifie in Heaven.

Truth. If the scope of this Head be to qualifie and adorne *christian impartialitie* and *faithfulness* with *christian wisdom* and *tenderneſſe*, I honour and applaud such a *Christian* motion: but whereas that case is put, which is no where found in the *patterne* of the first

Churches, nor suiting with the Rule of *Christianitie*, to wit, that the *Commonweale* should consist of *Church members*, which must be taken *privatively*, to wit, that none should be admitted members of the *Commonweale*, but such as are first members of the *Church* (which must necessarily run the *Church* upon that *Temptation* to feele the pulse of the *Court* concerning a *delinquent Magistrate*, before they dare proceed)

The inventions of men in swarving from the true essentials of Civill and Spirituall Commonweales. I say let such Practices be brought to [239] the *Touchstone* of the true frame of a *civill commonweale*, and the true frame of the *Spirituall* or *Christian commonweale*, the *Church* of *Christ*, and it will be seen what *wood, hay, and stubble* of carnall policie and humane inventions in *Christs* matters are put in place of the *precious stones, gold and silver* of the *Ordinances* of the most *High* and only wise *God*.

CHAP. CXXXVII.

16. and
last Head
examined.

Peace. **D**EARE *Truth*, We are now arrived at their last Head: the Title is this, *viz.*

Their power in the Liberties and Priviledges of these Churches.

“First, all Magistrates ought to be chosen out of
“Church-members, *Exod.* 18. 21. *Deut.* 17. 15. *Prov.*

“29. 2. When the Righteous rule, the people rejoyce.

“Secondly, that all free men elected, be only
“Church-members.

1. Because if none but Church members should
“rule, then others should not choose, because they

“ may elect others beside Church members.

2. From the patterne of *Israel*, where none had “ power to choose but only *Israel*, or such as were “ joyned to the people of God.

3. If it shall fall out, that in the Court consisting “ of Magistrates and Deputies, there be a dissent “ between them which may hinder the common “ good, that they now returne for ending the same, “ to their first principles, which are the Free men, “ and let them be consulted with.

Truth. In this *Head* are 2 branches: First con- A great
cerning the choice of *Magistrates*, that such ought to Queegion,
be chosen as are *Church members*: for which is quo- viz.
ted, *Exod.* 18. 21. *Dut.* 17. 15. *Proverbs* 19. 29. Whether
only
Church
members

Unto which I answer: It were to be wished, that since the point is so weighty, as concerning the *Pilots* and *Steeresmen* of *Kingdoms* and *Nations*, &c. on whose *abilitie*, *care* and *faithfulnessse* depends most commonly (that is as is intended) Godly per-
sons in a particular
the *peace* and *safety* of the *commonweales* they fail in: Church
estate, be
I say it were to be wished that they had more fully only eligi-
explained what [240] they intend by this *Affirmative*, ble or to
viz. *Magistrates* ought to be chosen out of *Church* be chosen
members. for Magis-
trates.

For if they intend by this [*Ought to be chosen*] a *neecessitie* of *convenience*, viz. that for the greater advancement of *common utilitie* and *rejoycing* of the people, according to the place quoted (*Prov.* 29. 2.) it were to be desired, prayed for, and peaceably endeavored, then I readily assent unto them.

But if by this [*Ought*] they intend such a *neecessitie* as those Scriptures quoted imply, viz. that people shall sin by choosing such for *Magistrates* as are not

members of *Churches*; as the *Israelites* should have sinned, if they had not (according to *Jethro's* counsell, *Exod.* 18. and according to the *command of God*, *Deut.* 18.) chosen their *Judges* and *Kings* within themselves in *Israel*: then I propose these necessary *Quæries*.

Lawfull
Civil
States,
where
Churches
of Christ
are not.

The world
being di-
vided into
30 parts,
25 never
heard of
Christ.

Lawfull
heires of
Crownes
& Civill
Govern-
ment, al-
though not
Christian
and godly.

Few
Christians
wife and
noble, and
qualified
for affaires
of State.

First whether those are not lawfull *Civill combina- tions, societies, and communions* of men, in *Townes, Cities, States or Kingdoms*, where no *Church of Christ* is resident, yea where his name was never yet heard of: I adde to this, that Men of no small note, skil- full in the *state* of the *World*, acknowledge, that the *World* divided into 30 parts, 25 of that 30 have never yet heard of the name of *Christ*:¹ If their *Civill pol- ities and combinations* be not lawfull, (because they are not *Churches*, and their *Magistrates Church* mem- bers) then *disorder, confusion*, and all *unrighteousnes* is lawfull, and pleasing to *God*.

Secondly, whether in such States or Common- weales, where a Church or Churches of Christ are resident, such persons may not lawfully succeed to the Crown or Government, in whom the feare of God (according to *Jethroes* counsell) cannot be dis- cerned, nor are brethren of the Church, according to *Deut.* 17.) but only are fitted with Civill and Morall abilities, to manage rhe Civill affaires of the Civill State.

Thirdly, since not many *Wise* and *Noble* are called, but the *poore* receive the *Gospel*, as *God* hath chosen the *poore* of the *World* to be *rich* in *Faith*, 1 *Cor.* 1. *Jam.* 2. Whether it may not ordinarily come to passe, that there may not be found in a true *Church*

¹ *Hireling Ministry*, p. 3. See *supra* p. 321.

of *Christ* (which sometimes consisteth but of few persons) persons fit to be either *Kings* or *Governours*, &c. whose *civill office* is no lesse difficult then the office of a *Doctor of Physick*, a *Master* or *Pilot* of a *Ship*, or a *Captaine* or *Commander* of a *Band* or *Army* of men: for [241] which services, the children of *God* may be no wayes *qualified*, though otherwise excellent for the *feare* of *God*, and the *knowledge* and *Grace* of the *Lord Iesus*.

4. If *Magistrates* ought (that is, ought only) to be chosen out of the *Church*, I demand if they ought not also to be *dethroned* and *deposed*, when they cease to be of the *Church*, either by voluntary departure from it, or by *excommunication* out of it, according to the bloody *tenents* and *practice* of some *Papists*, with whom the *Protestants* (according to their *principles*) although they seeme to abhor it, doe absolutely agree?
Some
Papists and
some Pro-
testants
agree in
deposing
of Magif-
trates.

5. Therefore lastly, I ask if this be not to turne the *World* upside down, to turne the *World* out of the *World*, to pluck up the *roots* and *foundations* of all *common societie* in the *World*? to turne the *Garden* and *Paradise* of the *Church* and *Saints* into the *Field* of the *Civill State* of the *World*, and to reduce the *World* to the first *chaos* or *confusion*.

CHAP. CXXXVIII.

Peace. **D**Eare *Truth*, thou *conquereft*, and shalt *triumph* in season: but some will say, How answer you those Scriptures alleadged?

Truth. I have fully and at large declared the vast

Those
Scriptures
Exod. 18.
Deut. 17.
& 18. &c.
parallel'd
in the true
spirituall
Israel, by
1 Tim. 3.
& Tit. 1:

differences between that holy *Nation* of typicall *Israel*, and all other *Lands* and *Countries*, how unmatchable then and now, and never to be parallel'd, but by the true *Israel* and particular *Churches* of *Christ*, residing in all parts (and under the severall *civill Governments*) of the *world*:¹ In which *Churches*, the *Israel* of *God*, and *Kingdome* of *Christ Iesus*, such only are to be chosen spirituall *Officers* and *Governours*, to manage his *Kingly* power and *authoritie* in the *Church*, as are (according to the *Scriptures* quoted, not *Pope*, *Bishops*, or *Civill powers*, but) from amongst themselves, *Brethren*, fearing *God*, hating *covetousnesse* or filthy *lucre*, according to those golden *Rules* given by the *Lord Iesus*, 1 Tim. 3. & Tit. 1.

The want of discerning this true *parallel*, between *Israel* in the *type* then, and *Israel* the *antitype* now, is that *rock* whereon (through the *Lords* righteous *jealousie*, punishing the *World*, and chastising his people) thousands dash, and make wofull *Shipwrack*. 242] The second branch, viz. that all *Freemen* elected be only *Church members*, I have before shewne to be built on that sandy and dangerous *Ground* of *Israels patterne*: O that it may please the *Father* of *Lights* to discover this to all that fear his name! then would they not sin to save a *Kingdome*, nor run into the lamentable *breach* of *civill peace* and *order* in the *world*, nor be guilty of forcing *thousands* to *Hypocrisie*, in a *State worship*, nor of *prophaning* the holy name of *God* and *Christ*, by putting their *Names* and *Ordinances* upon *uncleane* and *unholy* persons: nor of shedding the *blood* of such *Hereticks*, &c. whom

¹ Chapters cx.-cxiv.

Christ would have enjoy longer *patience* and *permissi*
on untill the *Harvest*: nor of the *blood* of the *Lord*
Iesus himselve, in his faithfull *Witnesses* of *Truth*:
nor lastly, of the blood of so many hundred thousands
slaughtred men, women, and children, by such *uncivill*
and *unchristian wars* and *combustions* about the *Chri*
tian faith and *Religion*.

Peace. Deare *Truth*: before we part, I aske your
faithfull helpe once more, to 2 or 3 Scriptures, which
many alleadge, and yet we have not spoken of.

The Nin-
evites Fast
examined.

Truth. Speake on; here is some sand left in this
our houre glasse of mercifull *opportunitie*: One graine
of *Times* inestimable sand is worth a golden *moun*
taine; let's not lose it.

Peace. The first is that of the *Ninevites* fast, com-
manded by the *King* of *Ninevie* and his *Nobles*, upon
the preaching of *Jonah*; succeeded by *Gods merci*
full answer in sparing of the Citie; and quoted with
honorable *approbation* by the *Lord Iesus Christ*,
Jonah 3. & *Math.* 12.

Truth. I have before proved,¹ that even *Jehosa*
phats fast (he being *King* of that *Nationall Church*
and people of *Israel*) could not possibly be a *type* or
warrant for every *King* or *Magistrate* in the *World*
(whose *Nations*, *Countries* or *Cities* cannot be
Churches of *God*, now in the *Gospel*, according to
Christ Iesus:

Much lesse can this patterne of the *King* of *Nin*
evie and his *Nobles*, be a ground for *Kings* and *Mag*
istrates now, to force all their *Subjects* under them
in the matters of *Worship*.

¹ See Chap. cxvii. p. 342, *supra*.

Peace. It will be said, why did *God* thus answer them?

Truth. Gods mercy in hearing doth not prove an *action* right and according to rule.

It pleased *God* to heare the *Israelites* cry for *Flesh*, and afterward for a *King*, given both in *anger* to them.

243] It pleased *God* to heare *Ababs* prayer, yea and the prayer of the *Devils* (Luc. 8.) although their *persons* and *prayers* in themselves abominable.

Object. If it be said, why did *Christ* approve this example?

Answer. I answer, the *Lord Jesus Christ* did not approve the *King* of *Ninevies* compelling all to Worship, but the men of *Ninevies* repentance at the preaching of *Ionab*.

Peace. It will be said, what shall *Kings* and *Magistrates* now doe in the plagues of *sword*, *famine*, *pestilence*?

Truth. *Kings* and *Magistrates* must be considered (as formerly) invested with no more *power* then the *people* betrust them with.

But no *People* can betrust them with any *spirituall* power in matters of *worship*, but with a *Civill* power belonging to their *goods* and *bodies*.

2. *Kings* and *Magistrates* must be considered as either *godly* or *ungodly*.

If *ungodly*, his own and peoples duty is *Repentance*, and reconciling of their persons unto *God*, before their *sacrifice* can be accepted. Without *Repentance* what have any to doe with the *covenant* or *promise* of *God*? *Psal.* 50.

Againe, if *Godly*, they are to humble themselves, and beg mercies for themselves and *people*.

Secondly, upon this *advantage & occasion*, they are to stir up their people (as possibly they may) to *Repentance*: but not to force the *consciencs* of people to *worship*.

If it be said, What must be attended to in this *Object*.
example? *Ans^w.*

Two things are most *eminent* in this *example*.

First, the great worke of *Repentance*, which *God* calls all men unto, upon the true preaching of his *Word*.

Secondly, the nature of that true *repentance* whether *How Eng- Legall* or *Evangelicall*: The people of *Ninevie* turned *land and London* from the *violence* that was in their hands: And con- *may yet be spared.* fident I am, if this *Nation* shall turne (though but with a *Legall* repentance) from that violent persecuting or hunting each of other for *Religion* sake, (the greatest violence and hunting in the *wilderneffe* of the whole *World*) even as *Sodome* and *Gomorrhah* upon a *Legall* repentance, had continued untill *Christs* day; so consequently might *England*, *London*, &c. continue free from a generall *destruction* (upon such a turning from their *violence*) untill the *Heavens* and the whole *World* be with fire consumed.

244] *Peace*. The second Scripture is that speech of the *Lord Christ*, *Luc. 22. 36*. He that hath not a *sword*, let him sell his coat, and buy one.

Truth. For the cleering of this *Scripture*, I must *Luc. 22.* propose and reconcile that seeming contrary com- *the selling of the* mand of the *Lord Jesus* to *Peter* (*Mat. 2. 6.*) Put up *Coat, to* thy *sword* into his place, for all that take the *sword*, *buy a* shall perish by it. *Sword,* *discussed.*

In the former Scripture (*Luc. 22.*) it pleased the

Lord Jesus, speaking of his present trouble, to compare his former sending forth of his *Disciples* without scrip, &c. with that present condition and triall coming upon them, wherein they should provide both scrip and sword, &c.

Yet now, first, when they tell him of two *swords*, he answers, It is *enough*: which shewes his former meaning was not literall, but figurative, foreshewing his present danger above his former.

Secondly, in the same case at the same time (*Mat.* 26.) commanding *Peter* to put on his sword, he gives a threefold *Reason* thereof.

1. (*vers.* 52.) from the *event* of it: for all that take the sword, shall perish by it.

2. The *needlesnes* of it: for with a word to his *Father*, he could have 12 *legions* of *Angels*.

3. The councell of *God* to be fulfilled in the Scripture: *Thus it ought to be*.

Peace. It is much questioned by some, what should be the meaning of *Christ Jesus* in that speech, All that take the *sword*, shall perish by the *sword*.

Truth. There is a threefold taking of the *sword*: First, by *murtherous crueltie*, either of private persons, or secondly, publike States or Societies, in wrath or revenge each against other.

A three-
fold tak-
ing of the
Sword.

Secondly, a just and righteous taking of the *sword* in punishing offenders against the *Civill peace*, either more *personall*, private and ordinary; or more *publike*, Oppressors, Tyrants, Ships, Navies, &c. Neither of these can it be imagined that *Christ Jesus* intended to *Peter*.

Thirdly, There is therefore a 3. taking of the *sword*,

forbidden to *Peter*, that is, for *Christ* and the Gospels cause, when *Christ* is in danger: which made *Peter* strike, &c.

Peace. It seemes to some most contrary to all true reason, that [245] *Christ* *Iesus*, Innocencie it selfe, should not be defended.

Truth. The foolishnes of *God* is wiser then the wisedome of Man.

It is not the purpose of *God*, that the Spirituall battailes of his *Son* shall be fought by carnall weapons and persons.

It is not his pleasure that the *World* shall flame on fire with civill combustions, for his *Sons* sake. It is directly contrary to the nature of *Christ* *Iesus*, his *Saints* and *Truths*, that throats of men (which is the highest contrarietie to civill converse) should be torne out for his sake, who most delighted to converse with the greatest sinners.

It is the counsell of *God*, that his servants shall overcome by 3 weapons, of a spirituall nature, *Revel.* 12. 11. And that all that take the sword of Steele, shall perish.

Lastly, it is the Counsell of *God*, that *Christ* *Iesus* shall shortly appeare a most glorious *Iudge* and *Revenger* against all his Enemies, when the *Heavens* and the *Earth* shall flee before his most glorious presence.

Peace. I shall propose the last *Scripture* much insisted on by many, for carnall weapons in spirituall cases, *Revel.* 17. 16. The 10 hornes which thou sawest upon the *Beast*, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and shall burne her with fire.

Revel. 17.
16. the
Kings
hating
of the
Whore,
discussed.

Truth. Not to controvert with some, whether or no the *Beast* be yet risen and extant.

Nor secondly, whether either the *Beast*, or the *Hornes*, or the *Whore* may be taken literally for any corporall *Beast* or *Whore*.

Or thirdly, whether these 10 *Hornes* be punctually and exactly 10 *Kings*.

Or fourthly, whether those 10 *Hornes* signifie those many *Kings*, *Kingdomes*, and *Governments*, who have bowed down to the *Popes* yoake, and have committed fornication with that great *Whore* the *Church* of *Rome*.

Let this last be admitted (which yet will cost some work to cleer against all opposites :) Yet,

First, can the *Time* be now cleerly demonstrated to be come, &c?

Secondly, how will it be proved, that this hatred of this *Whore* shall be a true, *chaste*, *Christian* hatred against *Antichristian whorish* practices, &c?

246] Thirdly, or rather that this *bating* and *desolating* and *making naked* and *burning* shall arise, not by way of an *ordinance* warranted by the *institution* of *Christ Jesus*, but by way of *providence* when (as it useth to be with all *whores* and their *lovers*) the *Church* of *Rome* and her great *lovers* shall fall out, and by the righteous vengeance of *God* upon her, drunke with the *blood* of *Saints* or holy Ones, these mighty *fornicators* shall turne their *love* into *hatred*, which *hatred* shall make her a poore desolate naked *Whore*, torne and consumed, &c.

Peace. You know it is a great controversie how the *Kings* of the *Earth* shall thus deale with the

Whore in the 17 Chap. and yet so bewaile her in the 18 Chapter.

Truth. If we take it that these *Kings* of the *Earth* shall first *bate*, and *plunder*, and *teare*, and *burne* this Whore, and yet afterward shall relent and bewaile their cruell dealing toward her: Or else, that as some *Kings* deale so terribly with her, yet others of those *Kings* shall bewaile her.

If either of these two answers stand, or a better be given, yet none of them can prove it lawfull for people to give power to their *Kings* and *Magistrates* thus to deale with them their subjects[,] for their *conscience*; nor for *Magistrates* to assume a title more then the people betrust them with; nor for one people out of *conscience* to *God*, and for *Christ* his sake, thus to kill and slaughter and burne each other: However it may please the Righteous Judge, according to the famous types of *Gideons* and *Jehosaphats* battells, to permit in *Justice*, and to order in *Wisdom*e these mighty and mutuall slaughters each of other.

Peace. We have now (deare *Truth*) through the gracious hand of *God* clambered up to the top of this our tedious Discourse.

Truth. O 'tis mercy unexpressible that either *Thou* or *I* have had so long a breathing time, and that together!

Peace. If *English* ground must yet be drunk with *English* blood, O where shall *Peace* repose her wearied head and heavy heart?

Truth. Deare *Peace*, if thou finde welcome, and the *God* of *peace* miraculously please to quench these

all-devouring flames, yet where shall *Truth* finde rest from cruell *persecutions*?

Peace. Oh, will not the *Authority* of holy *Scriptures*, the *Commands* and *Declarations* of the *Sonne of God*, therein produced by thee, together with all the lamentable *experiences* of former and [247] present slaughters prevaile with the *Sons of Men* (especially with the *Sons of Peace*) to depart from the *dens* of *Lyons*, and *mountaines* of *Leopards*,¹ and to put on the *bowels* (if not of *Christianitie*, yet) of *Humanitie* each to other!

Truth. Deare *Peace*, *Habacucks* *Fishes*² keep their constant bloody game of *Persecutions* in the *Worlds* mighty *Ocean*; the greater taking, plundering, swallowing up the lesser: O happy he whose portion is the *God of Iacob*! who hath nothing to lose under the *Sun*, but hath a *State*, a *House*, an *Inheritance*, a *Name*, a *Crowne*, a *Life*, past all the *Plunderers*, *Ravishers*, *Murderers* reach and furie!

Peace. But loe! Who's here?

Truth. Our Sister *Patience*, whose desired company is as needfull as delightfull: 'Tis like the *Wolfe* will fend the scattered *Sheep* in one: the common *Pirate* gathers up the loose and scattered *Navie*: the slaughter of the *Witnesses* by that bloody *Beast* unite the *Independents* and *Presbyterians*. The *God of Peace*,

¹ "Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse, with me from Lebanon: look from the top of Amana, from the top of Shenir and Hermon, from the lions' dens, from the mountains of the leopards." *Song of Solomon*, iv: 8.

² "Wherefore lookest thou upon them

that deal treacherously, and holdest thy tongue when the wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than he? and makest men as the fishes of the sea, as the creeping things, that have no ruler over them? *Habakkuk*, i: 13, 14.

the *God of Truth* will shortly seale this *Truth*, and confirme this *Witnes*, and make it evident to the whole *World*,

That the Doctrine of *Persecution* for cause of *Conscience*, is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of *Christ Iesus* the *Prince of Peace*. Amen.

FINIS.

Errata.¹

PAGE 23. line 28. *for* this, *read* that. p. 31. l. alt. his soule. p. 32. l. 12. *read* mouth. *ibid.* r. person. p. 35. l. 16. r. turned off, or loosed from. p. 37. l. 8. *for* to, *read* doe. p. 38 l. 2. *dele* affirme. p. 41. l. 22. his perilous soule. p. 43. l. 20. r. or l. ult. Answerer. p. 44. l. 28. be closer. p. 49. l. 1. last. p. 57. l. 22. cut. l. 24. I affirme that Justice. p. 58. l. 5. the lying. p. 98. l. 6. *read*, or doe these p. 114. l. 29. r. the 31 question. p. 119 l. 10. r. members. p. 139. l. 9. immunitie. p. 161. l. 28. or Christ. p. 214. l. 36. *dele* shall. p. 225. l. 19. the Churches of God. 225. l. 25. nor might not.

¹ On page 52 the reference to R. Wallace, *Antitrinitarian Biography*, i. 352, should be ii: 103, 112, and to Jac. Spon, *Histoire de Genève*, should be tom. 1, p. 301, Genève, 1730. The reference to C. C. Sand, *Biblioth. Antitrin.* is to the edition *Freisladii*, 1684.

On page 233 the reference in the margin to "Chamer de Eccles." is to a work of Daniel Chamier, the French Protestant polemic. The only work of his I have been able to consult is his principal one, *Panstrateiæ Catholicæ*, Genevæ, 1626.

Tom. 3, lib. 15, cap. 8-17, is *De constitutionibus Ecclesiæ*. But I cannot verify the allusion of the text. The reference to "Park. part. polit." is to *De Politeia Ecclesiastica Christi et Hierarchica opposita* of Robert Parker. It is often quoted by Mather in the "Answer of the Elders, &c.," and by Cotton, who acknowledges that he first received light from him as to the true structure of a Church. *Way of Cong. Churches Cleared*, p. 14.

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